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नेपालमा मानव जातिको पुर्खा

-जनकलाल शर्मा

SUMMARY

It was reported in the Rising Nepal and Gorkhapatra on March 27, 1981 that fossil remains of Ramapithecus were found in a place near Butwal, Lumbini zone of western Nepal in December 1980. An attempt has been made in this article to present a comprehensive study of the Ramapithecus discovered by Dr. J. H. Hutchison with the Ramapithecus discovered by G. E. Lewis and Kenyapithecus (Ramapithecus) discovered by L.S.B. Leakey. Relative and absolute methods of dating have also been discussed. The Ramapithecus has been studied from the point of view of the development of Hominid and it has been proved that the Ramapithecus is the first in this chain, which existed abaut 14 million to 8 million years ago.

२०३७ साल चैत्र १४ गते शुक्रवारको दैनिक गोरखापत्रको अग्रभागमा एउटा खबर छापिएको थियो जसमा मानवजातिको पुर्खा 'रामपिथेकस' को अवशेष पश्चिमी नेपालको बुटवलको छेउमा हालै पाइयो भनिएको थियो । यसैप्रकार यही समाचार उसै दिन अर्थात २७ मार्च १९८१ का अंग्रेजी दैनिक समाचारपत्र 'दि राइजिङ्ग नेपाल'मा पनि छापियो । यी दुबै पत्रिकामा यसलाई अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त भएका मानिसका पूर्वजका अवशेषमा विश्वकै लागि यो दोस्रो र एशियामा यो पहिलो हो भनिएको थियो । गोरखापत्र र राइजिङ्ग नेपालमा छापिएका समाचारलाई नै यहाँ पहिलो आधार बनाएर यस विषयमा चर्चा गर्न लागिएको छ ।

राइजिङ्ग नेपालका अनुसार नेपाल र संयुक्तराज्य अमेरिकाको संयुक्त वैज्ञानिक अन्वेषण दलले गतवर्ष (१९८०) को दिसेम्बर महीनामा तिनाउ खोलाको किनार बुटवलभन्दा केही माइल पर पहरामा टाँसिएको रामपिथेकसको माथिल्लो पट्टिको बँगाराको देब्रे तिरको दाँत प्राप्त गरेको हो । यसलाई पाउने पहिलो श्रेय डा० जे०एच० हट्चिसन (Hutchison-40) लाई छ । अन्वेषण दलका अन्य सदस्यहरूमा संयुक्तराज्य अमेरिकाका तर्फबाट डा० जेम्स मुन्थे र उनकी श्रीमती डा० के० मुन्थे थिए । नेपालका तर्फबाट कसले भागलिएको थियो त्यो राइजिङ्ग नेपालमा दिइएको छैन तर गोरखापत्रमा डा० जेम्स मुन्थेले नेतृत्व गर्नुभएको सो टोलीमा मिलाकी सार्वजनिक म्यूजियमका डा० आर०एम०वेल्ट, क्यालिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालयका डा० हट्चिसन थिए भने नेपालका तर्फबाट त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयका विष्णु डंगोल रहनु भएको देखिन्छ ।

यस अन्वेषणमा पाइएको रामपिथेकसको दाँत एक सेण्टिमीटर चौडा र एक सेण्टिमीटरभन्दा केही थोरै

लामो थियो । यसरी पाइएको दाँत पहराबाट निकाल्दा तीन टुक्रा भएर आयो र त्यसलाई टाँस्न तथा कडा बनाउन अमेरिका पठाइयो । त्यो दाँत अहिले अमेरिका-बाट फिर्ता आएको हुँदा त्यो र त्यसका साथमा वा त्यस ठाउँको आसपासमा पाइएका अन्यवस्तु समेत 'प्राकृतिक विज्ञान संग्रहालय (Natural History Museum)' स्वयंभूमा राखिएको छ ।[1]

रामपिथेकस (Ramapithecus) अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषको रूपमा पाइएको मानवानुगणमा गणना हुने दुर्लभ प्राणी हो र यो सीधै मानवको पूर्वजमा पर्दछ भन्ने विश्वास गरिन्छ । यस्ता दुर्लभ प्राणीका अवशेष यसभन्दा पहिले अफ्रिकाको केन्या, पाकिस्तान, भारत र चीनमा नमूनाकै रूपमा साह्रै थोरै मात्रामा पाइएका छन् । जिनमा धेरैजसो नमूना अशीलाख वर्ष पुराना छन् । शारीरिक दृष्टिले रामपिथेकस मध्यम आकारमा आउने प्राथमिक वर्गको प्राणी हो । यसको उचाई प्राचीनकालका मानिस र वनमान्छे (Orangutan), मेध्यवानर (Chimpanzee) तथा भीमवानर (Gorilla) जस्तै चारफूट अर्थात् एकमीटर जति हुन्छ ।

मानवको पुर्खा मानिने यस्तो प्राणीलाई कसरी रामपिथेकस भन्ने नामकरण गरियो त्यस विषयमा विचार गर्नु आवश्यक छ । यल (Yale) विश्वविद्यालयका जी० ई० लेवीज (Lewis) नामक व्यक्तिले १९३० ईस्वीमा भारतको सिवालिक पर्वतमा उत्खनन गराएका थिए जहाँ निकै फराकिलो भएर घुमेर बसेका केही बंगारा (Wide-Curving Jaw) फेला पारे जुन धनुषाकार च्यापु (Arched-Palate) मा टाँसिएका थिए । यसको तालु अर्थात् मुखभित्रको माथिल्लो भागको च्यापु ठ्याक्कै मानिससंग मिल्ने देखिन आयो । उनले आफूले प्राप्त गरेको यस वस्तुलाई रामपिथेकस भन्ने नामकरण गरे र यसरी प्राप्त भएको त्यो वस्तु मध्यनूतनाश्म युग (Miocene Epoch)[2] को अन्त्यमा पाइने अपुच्छ (Ape) प्राणीको हो भन्ने पनि निष्कर्षमा आए । यो वंश वेग्लै प्रजातिको मात्र होइन अपितु यो मानवजस्तै (Man-Like) समूहमा पर्दछ पनि भने । यसलाई शुरूमा ब्रामपिथेकस (संगवतः ब्रह्मपिथेकस) पनि भनिन्थ्यो तर त्यो पछि गएर रामपिथेकसकै नामले प्रसिद्ध भयो । इनसाइक्लोपिडिया ब्रिटानिकाको १९७९ ईस्वीको संस्क-रणमा जी०ई० लेवीजले रामपिथेकस प्राप्त गरेको १९३४ ईस्वीमा हो भनिएको छ । उनले प्राप्त गरेको समय कहीं १९३० र कहीं १९३४ हुनुको तात्पर्य लेवीजले अन्वेषण, उत्खनन गरेको समय यी दुवैका बीचको हुनुपर्दछ भन्नु उपयुक्त होला ।

लेवीजले रामपिथेकसको अस्थि अवशेष प्राप्त गरेको पचीस वर्षपछि प्रोफेसर एन० एस० बी० लीके (Leakey) लाई रामपिथेकसको जस्तै अर्को अवशेष अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा पाउने सौभाग्य मिल्यो ।[3] उनले प्राप्त गरेका वस्तुमा माथिल्लो भागको च्यापु र बंगारा थिए । लीकेले यी वस्तु अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा प्राप्त गरेको हुँदा यसको नाम पहिले केन्यापिथेकस भन्ने राखियो । केन्यामा प्राप्त भएको यस प्राणीका अवशेष भारतको रामपिथेकससित मिल्दो-जुल्दो हुनाले पछि गएर यसको नाम पनि रामपिथेकस नै रहन गयो र ती प्रायः समसामयिक नै हुन् भन्ने निष्कर्ष पनि आयो । यसको पहातु-मन्दाति कालनिर्धारण विधि (Potassium-Argon Dating Method) बाट परीक्षण गर्दा अफ्रिका-को केन्यामा पाइएको रामपिथेकसको समय आजभन्दा एककरोड चालीसलाख (14 Million) वर्ष अघिको देखिन आयो । त्यसैकारण अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा पाइएको रामपिथेकस अहिलेसम्म सबैभन्दा जेठो ठहरिन आएको छ । भारतमा पाइएको रामपिथेकस वा ब्रामपिथेकस र केन्यामा पाइएको रामपिथेकस भनिने केन्यापिथेकस (Kenyapithecus) को तुलनात्मक अध्ययनद्वारा यल

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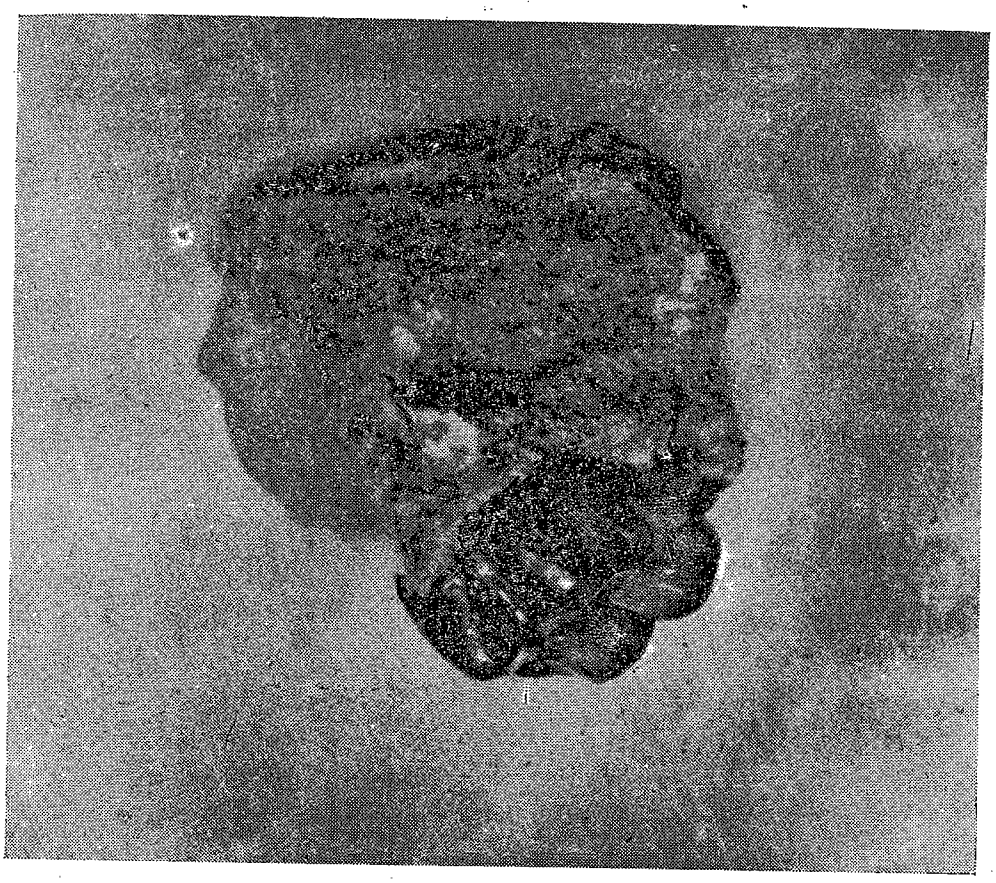
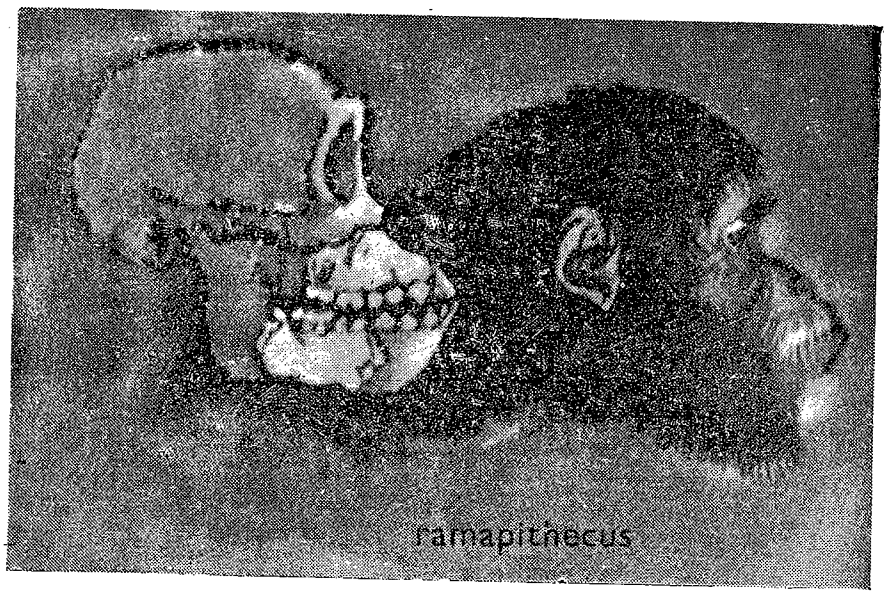
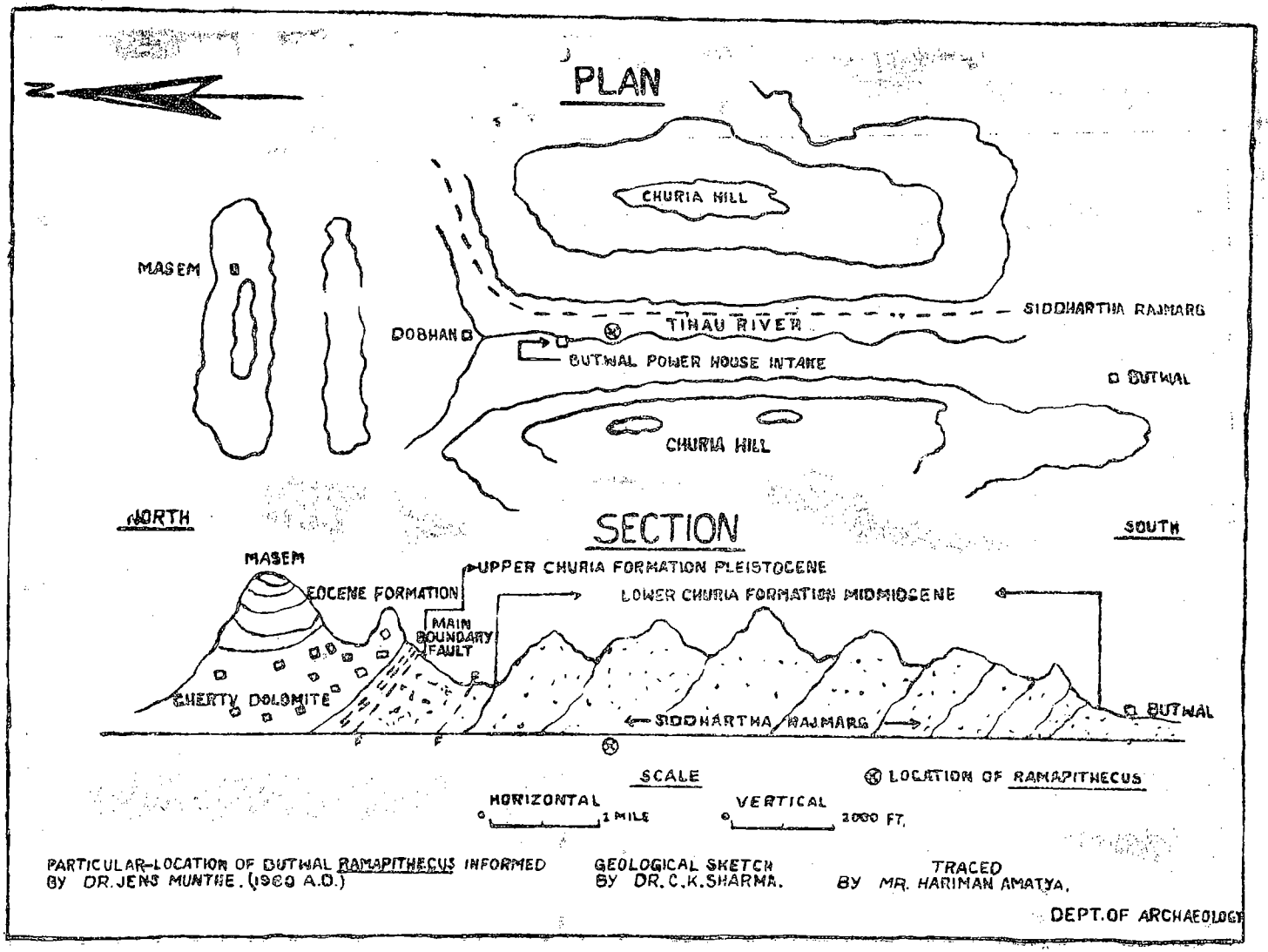
१) फलक १ 'क' मा हेर्नुहोस् । नेपालमा पाइएको रामपिथेकसको दाँत ।
२) परिशिष्ट १ मा हेर्नुहोस् ।
३) केन्यामा पाइएको रामपिथेकसको पुनर्निर्मितरूप । रामपिथेकसको यो पूनर्निर्मित रूप Man Before History को पृष्ठ २३ बाट उद्धृत गरिएको हो ।



क. बुटवल रामपिथेकसको माथिल्ला पट्टिको देब्रे बँगाराको दाँत, हेर्नुहोस:- पृष्ठ २ तथा पादटिप्पणी—१
(सौजन्य: प्राकृतिक विज्ञान संग्रहालय,नेपाल)
(छविकार: श्री सानुराज शाक्य)



ख. रामपिथेकसको पुनर्निर्मितरूप
(Reconstructed Form Of Ramapithecus Or Kenyapithecus),
हेर्नुहोस्:-पृष्ठ २ तथा पादटिप्पणी-३
(छविकार: श्री चिनियाँरत्न ताम्रकार)


PLAN
N
CHURIA HILL
MASEM
DOBHAN
SIDDHARTHA RAJMARG
TINAU RIVER
BUTWAL POWER HOUSE INTAKE
BUTWAL
CHURIA HILL
NORTH
SECTION
SOUTH
MASEM
EOCENE FORMATION
UPPER CHURIA FORMATION PLEISTOCENE
LOWER CHURIA FORMATION MIDMIOCENE
MAIN BOUNDARY FAULT
CHERTY DOLOMITE
SIDDHARTHA RAJMARG
BUTWAL
SCALE
LOCATION OF RAMAPITHECUS
HORIZONTAL
1 MILE
VERTICAL
2000 FT.
PARTICULAR-LOCATION OF BUTWAL RAMAPITHECUS INFORMED BY DR. JENS MUNTHE. (1980 A.D.)
GEOLOGICAL SKETCH BY DR. C.K. SHARMA.
TRACED BY MR. HARIMAN AMATYA.
DEPT. OF ARCHAEOLOGY

विश्वविद्यालयका एलविन सिमोन्स (Elwyn Simons) ब्रामपिथेकस र रामपिथेकस एउटै प्रजातिका हुन् भन्न समर्थ भए । मानिसको च्यापु तलमाथि दुवैको आकार धनुष (Arch) जस्तो घुमेको हुन्छ भने पशुको रोमन अक्षरको यू (U) आकारको हुन्छ । पशुका अग्रभागका टोक्ने दाँत तथा कुकुरदाँत (Canine Teeth) दुवै लामा हुन्छन् भने मानिसका यी दाँत छोटा हुन्छन् । रामपिथेकस नामक प्राणीका च्यापु र कुकुरदाँत मानिससित मिल्दाजुल्दा छन् । त्यसकारण पनि यस प्राणीलाई मानवजस्तो (Man-Like) भनिएको हो । हालै नेपालमा पाइएको बुटवलपिथेकस (Butwalpithecus) को लक्षण भारतको रामपिथेकस र उत्तरपूर्वी अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा पाइएको केन्यापिथेकस अर्थात् रामपिथेकससित मिल्दोजुल्दो भएको हुँदा यसको नाम पनि रामपिथेकस नै राखिएको हो ।

यस्ता अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेष (Fossilize Bone Remains) को अध्ययनमा कालनिर्धारण(Dating) को पनि ठूलो महत्त्व हुन्छ । कालनिर्धारण दुई प्रकारले गरिन्छ जसलाई सापेक्ष (Relative) र निरपेक्ष वा स्वतन्त्र (Absolute) कालनिर्धारण विधि (Dating Technique or Method) भनिन्छ । सापेक्ष कालनिर्धारण विधिमा त्यस्ता अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषका साथमा पाइएका अन्य जीवजन्तु र वनस्पतिसित तुलना गरेर हेरिन्छ । यस्ता जीवजन्तु र वनस्पतिको अध्ययनबाट भूगर्भशास्त्री र पुरासत्त्वशास्त्री (Paleontologist) हरूले कालनिर्धारण गरिसकेका छन् । यस्तै वस्तुसित आफूले प्राप्त गरेका वस्तुको तुलना गरेर कालनिर्धारण गरिन्छ । यस्ता विधिबाट भूगर्भको लामो काललाई गर्न समर्थ भइएता-पनि यदाकदा यसमा पनि समस्या पर्न आउँछ । उदाहरणका लागि यूरोप र अफ्रिकामा पाइने ठूला हात्ती वा महागजलाई नै लिन सकिन्छ । जुन समय यस्ता हात्ती अफ्रिकामा जीवित अवस्थामा प्राप्त हुन्छन् त्यस समयभन्दा धेरै पहिले यूरोपमा त्यस्ता प्राणी विलुप्त भइसकेका देखिन्छन् । त्यसैप्रकार अफ्रिका र एशियाको अवस्था पनि हुनसक्छ । वनस्पतिको परिवर्तनको अवस्था यो भन्दा पनि छोटो हुन्छ जसले गर्दा हामीले चाहेको ठीक समय निकाल्न कठिन हुन्छ । यसकारण स्वतन्त्र कालनिर्धारण विधिका विषयमा पनि चर्चा गरेर हेर्नु आवश्यक होला । सापेक्ष कालनिर्धारण विधिभन्दा स्वतन्त्रकाल निर्धारण विधि निकै भरपर्दो देखिन आउँछ । यस विधिको पहिलो आविष्कर्ता मिलानकोभिच (Milankovitch) नै हुन् जसले गणितको आधारमा सौररश्मि-विकिरण (Solar Radiation) को हिसाब गरेर प्रातिनूतनाश्म (Pleistocene)[4] भित्रको हिमयुगको समयलाई स्थिर गरेर देखाए । उनको सिद्धान्त अनुसार प्रातिनूतनाश्म भित्रपर्ने प्रथम हिमयुग आजभन्दा ६ लाख वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ भएर अन्तिम हिमयुग आजभन्दा पच्चीसहजार वर्ष पहिले आएर टुंगिन्छ । आजको हिसाबमा प्रातिनूतनाश्म भित्र पर्ने अन्तिम हिमयुग आजभन्दा पच्चीसहजार वर्ष पहिले होइन आजभन्दा दशहजार वर्ष पहिले समाप्त हुन्छ । उनको यो गणना त्यसभन्दा पहिलेका भूगर्भशास्त्री-हरूले स्थिर गरेको आजभन्दा साठीहजार वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ हुने प्रातिनूतनाश्मको प्रथम हिमयुगको आयुभन्दा उनको ६ लाख वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ हुने प्रातिनूतनाश्मको प्रथम हिमयुगको गणना आजको तथ्यभन्दा धेरै टाढा गएको छैन । हिमनदीको वार्षिक द्विमलावसाद (Varve) को गणनाबाट पनि कालनिर्णय गर्न सकिन्छ । यस विधिका आविष्कर्ता मध्ये फिनल्याण्डका पुरासत्त्वशास्त्री कर्टेन (Finnish Paleontologist Kurten) पनि एक हुन् । उनले दक्षिणी जर्मनीका हिमनदीको अध्ययन गरेर तिनका अवस्थाको नाम पनि स्थानीय भाषामा नै राखे जसलाई क्रमशः गुन्ज (Gunz), मिण्डेल (Mindel), रिस (Riss) र वुर्म (Wurm) भनिन्छ । उनले अध्ययन गरेको समय पनि प्रातिनूतनाश्मकै हो । यी चार हिमयुगका बीचमा पर्ने अन्तरहिमयुगलाई क्रमशः प्रथम अन्तर हिमयुग (Gunz-Mindel), द्वितीय अन्तरहिमयुग (Mindel-Riss) र तृतीय अन्तरहिमयुग (Riss-Wurm) भनिन्छ ।[5] प्रातिनूतनाश्म (Pleistocene) भित्र पर्ने चार हिमयुग र तीन अन्तरहिमयुगभन्दा पहिले पर्ने प्रातिनूतनाश्मको समयलाई पूर्वहिमानी (Villafranchian) र तिनभन्दा पछि आउने युगलाई हिमान्युत्तर (Post-Glacial)[6] भनिन्छ । अहिले प्रसंगवश

४, ५) परिशिष्ट १, २ मा हेर्नुहोस् । ६) परिशिष्ट२ मा हेर्नुहोस् ।

चर्चा गरिएका मिलानकोभिच र कर्टेनको हिसाबले आज-भन्दा पचासलाखदेखि चालीसलाख वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ भएर आजभन्दा दशहजार वर्ष पहिले समाप्त हुने प्राति-नूतनाश्मको समयभित्र पर्ने आजभन्दा दशलाख वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ भएर आजभन्दा दशहजार वर्ष पहिले समाप्त हुने हिमयुगको समयलाई मात्र प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ । अतः यस सिद्धान्तले त्यसभन्दा पहिलेको कालनिर्धारणलाई सघाउ पुऱ्याउँदैन । स्वतन्त्र कालनिर्धारणमा वृक्षवृत्त गणनविधि (Dendrochronology) आदि अनेक विधि छन् जसको चर्चा यहाँ त्यति आवश्यक छैन । कारण यी विधिको आधारमा पनि हामी धेरै अघि पुग्न सक्तैनौं ।

अहिलेसम्म कालनिर्धारणका लागि जति विधि आविष्कार भएका छन् तिनमा परमाणु भौतिक विज्ञान (Atomic-Physics) द्वारा प्रतिपादित गरिएको स्वतन्त्रकाल निर्धा-रण सबभन्दा भरपर्दो देखिन आएको छ । यस विधिको आविष्कर्तामा संयुक्तराज्य अमेरिका नै प्रथम सूचीमा आउँछ । द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध पछि संयुक्तराज्य अमेरिकाले पुरातत्त्वको क्षेत्रमा एउटा कालनिर्धारण विधिको आविष्कार गऱ्यो जसलाई तेजोद्गिर प्रांगारिक कालनिर्धारण विधि (Radioactive-Carbon Dating Method) भनिन्छ । तेजोद्गिर प्रांगारिक कालनिर्धारण विधिको ज्ञातांश (Known-Rates) को सस्थानी (Isotope) चौध भएको हुँदा यो प्रांगार-१४ (Carbon-14) का नामले प्रसिद्ध छ । यस सिद्धान्त अनुसार हरेक जैविक पदार्थमा प्रांगारिक अंश हुन्छ र त्यसमा कति ज्ञातांश (Known-Rates) तेजोद्गिर सस्थानी (Radioactive Isotope) को क्षय (Decay) भयो त्यसको हिसाब गरेर यो यसकालको हो भन्ने निर्णय गरिन्छ । भनाइको तात्पर्य हो हरेक जीवित पदार्थले आफ्नो जीवनकालमा वातावरणबाट तेजोद्गिर प्रांगार-१४ सस्थानी (Radioac-tive Carbon-14 Isotope) लिएको हुन्छ । जब त्यो वस्तु मर्दछ त्यस अवस्थामा प्रांगार-१४ सस्थानी लिन छोड्दछ । यसरी मृतवस्तुले प्रांगार १४ लिन छोड्ने मात्र होइन अपितु सस्थानीको क्षय (Isotopes Decay) पनि विस्तारै भएर जान्छ । हामीलाई क्षय हुने अवधि थाहा भएको हुँदा त्यस्ता वस्तुको मृत्युका समय बाँकी रहेको सस्थानी (Isotope) को आधारमा गणना गर्न सकिन्छ । यसरी गणना गर्दा त्यसमा सस्थानीको क्षय हुन लागेको समय निस्कन्छ । क्षय हुन लागेको समयको गणना गर्दा गर्दै वस्तो अवस्थामा पुगिन्छ जहाँ गएर सस्थानीको उपस्थिति ज्यादै कम अथवा त्यसको अभाव नै हुन्छ वा भनौं त्यसमा सस्थानी हुँदै नहुने अवस्था पनि आउँछ । सस्थानीको वस्तै अवस्थाको गणनाबाट एउटा युक्तिसंगत समय निकाल्न सकिन्छ । वस्तो परिणाम साधा-रणतया चारहजारदेखि पचासहजार वर्ष भित्रको हुन्छ र त्यसलाई बढाएर सत्रीहजार वर्षसम्म पनि पुऱ्याउन सकिन्छ । बितेको समय जति लामो हुँदै जान्छ त्यसमा त्यति नै समयमा अशुद्धिको मात्रा (Margin of Error) पनि बढेर जान्छ । तर बीसहजार वर्षको गणनामा अशुद्धिको मात्रामा दुइसय वर्षको अन्तर आउनु कुनै अचम्म्य कुरा होइन । किन्तु मध्यकालीन इतिहासको गणनाका लागि भने यो कालनिर्धारण विधि अनुपयोगी नै सिद्ध भएको छ ।

पुरातत्त्वको क्षेत्रमा प्राप्त भएका सबै वस्तु प्रांगा-रिक-१४ को परीक्षणका लागि उपयोगी सिद्ध हुँदैनन् । प्रांगारिक-१४ को परीक्षणमा आगो लागेको वा आगो बालेको ठाउँको गोल अर्थात् कोइला, हाड, मिर्गको सींङ, घूँगी वा सिपीको खपटा लिइन्छ । तर यसमा अन्तिम वस्तु अर्थात् घूँगी वा सिपीको खपटा परिणाम प्राप्त गर्न त्यति उपयुक्त मानिंदैन ।

प्रांगारिक परीक्षणमा त्यसका लागि जम्मा गरि-एको नमूनाको ठूलो महत्त्व हुन्छ । यस्तो नमूना संग्रह गर्दा त्यसमा कति सावधानी राखिएको छ त्यसले पनि मान्यता प्राप्त परिणाममा प्रभावित पार्दछ । यसको पहिलो कारण हो नमूना प्राप्त गर्दा हुन आउने वातावरणको संसर्गबाट हुने प्रदूषण (Contamination) । संसर्ग-जन्य प्रदूषणबाट जोगाउन संसर्ग गराउने कारण जान्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ । नमूना संग्रह गर्दा त्यस्ता वस्तुले त्यहाँ भएको वर्तमान वातावरणबाट प्रांगार-१४ तत्काल ग्रहण गर्न सक्तछन् । त्यसकारण नमूनालाई हातले नछोइकन उपयुक्त पात्रमा तुरून्त बन्द गर्नुपर्दछ । यसो नगर्नाले पनि कालनिर्धारणमा प्रभाव पर्दछ । उदाहरणका लागि रुखका जरालाई नै लिन सकिन्छ । आधुनिक रुखका

जराले प्रशस्त पानी ग्रहण गरेको हुन्छ । त्यस्ता रूखको जरा भएका ठाउँको नमूना कालनिर्धारणका लागि उपयुक्त मानिदैन । कस्तो वस्तुमा नमूना पोको पारिएको छ वा राखिएको छ त्यसले र जहाँबाट नमूना संग्रह गरिएको छ त्यस ठाउँदेखि प्रयोगशालामा नमूना नपुगेसम्म नमूना त्यहाँ पुऱ्याउन कस्तो परिवहनको साधन प्रयोग भएको छ त्यसले पनि नमूनालाई प्रदूषित गराउन सक्तछ । त्यसकारण नमूना संग्रह र प्रयोगशालामा पुनुभन्दा पहिलेसम्मको अवस्थालाई हेलचेक्र्याइँको दृष्टिले हेर्नु हुँदैन । जुन समय प्रांगारिक कालनिर्धारण विधिको आविष्कार भयो त्यस बेला त्यस्ता गल्तीहरू भएका थिए जसबाट प्रांगारिक परीक्षणमा पत्याउने नसकिने नयाँ नयाँ काल पनि यसबाट आउन थाले । कालनिर्धारणमा यस्ता अविश्वसनीय परिणाम आउनुमा तिनै गल्तीहरूको प्रभाव हो भन्ने निष्कर्षमा वैज्ञानिकहरू पुगे । त्यसकारण आजकाल नमूना संग्रह, पोको पार्ने तरीका र प्रयोगशालामा पुऱ्याउने साधन आदिमा सावधानीपूर्वक ध्यान दिइन्छ । सावधानीपूर्वक प्रयोगशालामा पुऱ्याइएको नमूनाबाट स्वीकार-योग्य काल आउन सक्तछ र त्यसमा कुनै सन्देह रहँदैन ।

पुरातत्त्व र पुरासत्त्व (Paleontology) को क्षेत्रलाई हेर्दा प्रांगारिक-१४ को कालनिर्धारण विधिले त्यस क्षेत्रको लामो समयमा ज्यादै नयाँ अवस्थाको १०% समयलाई मात्र ओगटेको पाइन्छ । साधारणतया प्रांगार-१४ को परीक्षण विधिले चारहजारदेखि पचास-हजार वर्षसम्मको समयलाई ओगटेको हुन्छ भने यसको सबभन्दा माथिल्लो काल सत्तारीहजार वर्षसम्म पुग्दछ ।

प्रांगार-१४ विधिको आविष्कार हुनुभन्दा पहिले स्वतन्त्र कालनिर्धारणको क्षेत्रमा दहातु-मन्दाति (Potassium Argon or K/Ar) परीक्षण विधि प्रसिद्ध थियो । ज्वालामुखीको विष्फोटनबाट निस्केको चट्टान वा लावामा कम मात्रामा दहातुमन्दाति सस्थानी-४० (Potassium-Argon Isotope-40) हुन्छ जो ज्ञातांश (Known Rate) मन्दाति-४० (Argon-40 मा पुगेपछि क्षय (Decay) हुँदै जान्छ । यस विधिको आधा अवस्था प्रांगार-१४ को भन्दा ज्यादै अधिक हुन्छ । त्यसैकारण धेरै समय अधिको समयका वस्तुको कालनिर्धारण गर्नु-पऱ्यो भने दहातुमन्दातिको कालनिर्धारण विधि उपयोगी सिद्ध हुन आउँछ । तर खेदको कुरा के छ भने जहाँ प्रांगार-१४ को सबभन्दा पुरानो काल करीब ७०-५० हजार वर्ष हुन्छ त्यहाँ दहातुमन्दातिको कालनिर्धारणमा सबभन्दा नयाँकाल करीब ६ लाख वर्षको हुन्छ र सबभन्दा पुरानो काल साढे चार अरब वर्ष अर्थात् पृथ्वीको सृष्टि भएका समयसम्म पनि पुग्दछ । प्रांगार-१४ र दहातुमन्दाति-४० को कालनिर्णय विधिले त्याएको सत्तारी-हजार वर्षभन्दा माथि र ६ लाख बर्षभन्दा मुनाको समयभित्र करीब पाँचलाख वर्षको अन्तर देखिन आयो । यसै अन्तरभित्र रहेको समय मानिसको साँस्कृतिक र शारीरिक विकासका लागि ज्यादै महत्त्वपूर्ण मानिन्छ । यस अन्तरको समयलाई कालनिर्धारण गर्न वैज्ञानिकहरूले दहातुमन्दाति परीक्षण विधिकै आधारमा अर्को सस्थानी विधि (Isotope Method) को आविष्कार गरेका छन् जसलाई हुसातु/किरणातु (Thorium/Uranium) र स्तनपोषीवाश्म/हुसातु (Prolactinium/Thorium) सस्थानी (Isotope) विधि भनिन्छ । यस विधिबाट पहिले उल्लेख गरिएको ५ लाख वर्षको अन्तरलाई पूरा गरिन्छ । दहातुमन्दाति-४० र प्रांगार-१४ को काल निर्धारण विधिले काम नदिएका ठाउँमा यो अर्को परीक्षण विधि बढी उपयोगी सिद्ध भएको छ ।

स्वतन्त्र कालनिर्धारण विधिका क्षेत्रमा भूगर्भ-शास्त्री र पुरासत्त्व-शास्त्रीका लागि अर्को विधि पनि छ जसलाई पुराचुम्बकीय विधि (Paleo-Magnetic Method) भनिन्छ । यस विधिमा चुम्बकीय यन्त्रद्वारा जुन वस्तुको कालनिर्णय गर्नु छ त्यसमा चुम्बकीय आकर्षण कति छ त्यसको हिसाब यन्त्रले देखाएको जति पहिले टिपिन्छ । यसपछि त्यस वस्तुको केही भाग आगोमा राखेर तताइन्छ । यसरी तताउँदा त्यसलाई तताउने तापक्रम क्यूरिबिन्दु (Curie Point) सम्म पुऱ्याइन्छ र त्यसलाई पुनः यन्त्रद्वारा परीक्षण गरिन्छ । तताउनुभन्दा पहिलेको र तताइसकेपछिको अवस्थामा चुम्बकीय शक्तिमा कति अन्तर पऱ्यो त्यसमा क्षयांश (Decay Rate) को हिसाब गरेर कालनिर्धारण गरिन्छ । प्रांगार-१४, दहातुमन्दाति-४० र हुसातु परीक्षण विधि-को तुलनामा यसको हिसाब केही हुचुवा किसिमको

हुन्छ । तर भरपर्दो नसकिने कालनिर्धारण विधि भने यो होइन ।

अहिलेसम्म कालनिर्धारण विधिका विषयमा हामीले जुन चर्चा गऱ्यौं त्यो रामपिथेकसको प्रसंगमै गरेका थियौं । हाम्रो मूल उद्देश्य रामपिथेकस हो र कालनिर्धारण त्यसलाई सहयोग पुऱ्याउने अर्को पक्ष हो । प्रोफेसर एल०एस०बी० लीकेले अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा प्राप्त गरेको रामपिथेकसको कालनिर्धारण दहातुमन्दातिको आधारमा गरिएको थियो भन्ने कुरा पहिले नै चर्चा भइसकेको छ । दि राइजिङ्ग नेपालका अनुसार पश्चिमी नेपालको बुटवलको छेउमा पाइएको रामपिथेकसको कालनिर्धारण पुराचुम्बकीय विधि (Paleomagnetic Analysis) द्वारा गरिएको हो । केन्याको रामपिथेकस आजभन्दा एककरोड चालीसलाख वर्ष पुरानो हो भने नेपालको रामपिथेकस एककरोडभन्दा अधिको अर्थात् एककरोड दशलाख वर्ष पुरानो ठहरिन आएको छ । भारत र एशियाका अन्य मुलुकमा पाइएका अरू रामपिथेकस नेपालको रामपिथेकसभन्दा पछिको देखिन आएकाले नेपालको रामपिथेकसलाई विश्वमा दोस्रो र एशियामा पहिलो भनिएको हो ।

मानवसित केही लक्षण मिल्ने यस्ता प्राणीलाई मानवका पुर्खा हुन् कि भन्ने विचार जनसमक्ष आउन थालेको इतिहासलाई केलाउने हो भने त्यो मोटामोटी रूपमा एक सय शताब्दी जति लामो होला । जुन समय पुरासत्त्व र भूगर्भशास्त्री समेतका केही विद्वानहरू यस कार्यमा लागेका थिए त्यस समय यूरोपमा पुराणपन्थीहरूको बोलवाला थियो । सीमित विद्वान् बाहेक समस्त जनतामा आयरल्याण्डका आर्च विशप जेम्स उशर (Archbishop James Ussher)का सिद्धान्तको प्रभाव थियो । जेम्स उशरले बाइबिलको ओल्ड टेस्टामेण्टलाई व्याख्या गरेर एउटा रचना १६५० ईस्वीमा जनसमक्ष ल्याएका थिए । यस व्याख्या अनुसार विश्वको रचना ईसापूर्व ४००४ मा भएको थियो । समस्त विश्वको रचना हुन जम्मा ६ दिन लाग्यो र छैटौं दिनमा अन्तिम सृष्टिको रूपमा आदम अवतरित भए । बाइबिलको ओल्ड टेस्टामेण्टका अनुसार आदम नै मानवजातिको पहिलो पुरुष हो । आर्च विशप जेम्स उशरले विश्व सृष्टिको साल मात्र प्रस्तुत गरेका थिए भने उनैका समसामयिक क्याम्ब्रिज विश्वविद्यालयका उपकुलपति डा० विशप लाइटफूट (Bishop Lightfoot)ले बाइबिलको स्वतन्त्र अध्ययन गरेर विश्वको सृष्टि प्रारम्भ भएको दिन र समय २३ अक्टोबर बिहान ९ बजे ४००४ ईसापूर्वमा हो भनेका थिए । डा० मार्गरेट मुरे (Dr. Margaret Murray)ले त्यसमा अझै संशोधन गरेका छन् । उनका अनुसार २३ अक्टोबर बिहान ९ बजे होइन मार्च २१ तारिख बिहान ६ बजे बुधवार ४००४ ईसापूर्वमा विश्वको रचना प्रारम्भ भएको हो । पाश्चात्य जगतका जनतामा यस्तो पुराणपन्थी विचारको प्रबलता हुँदाहुँदै पनि त्यसको विपरीत केही विद्वान्ले प्राक्मानवको अध्ययनलाई अघि बढाए । प्रोफेसर एल०एस०बी० लीके जस्ता यूरोपीय विद्वान्ले वानरजस्तो प्राणीलाई बाइबिलको आदिपुरुष आदमका पुर्खा भनेर आफ्नो पुस्तकको नाम 'Adam's Ancestors' भन्ने राख्नु पुराणपन्थीलाई व्यंग्य गर्नु बाहेक अरू केही हुनसक्दैन । उनको यो पुस्तक सर्वप्रथम १९३४ ईस्वीमा लन्दनबाट प्रकाशित भएको थियो ।

प्राक्मानवको चर्चा गर्नासाथ विकासवादको स्मरण हुन्छ । यस सिद्धान्तका प्रबल प्रवर्तक आचार्य मध्ये चार्ल्स डार्विनको नाम सर्वोपरि आउँछ । १८५९ ईस्वीमा 'जातिवर्गको विकास' (On the origin of Species) नामक आफ्नो पुस्तक प्रकाशित गराएपछि त विकासवादको क्षेत्रमा आचार्य डार्विनले अन्तिम लालमोहर नै लगाइदिए भने पनि हुन्छ । उनको पुस्तक प्रकाशित भएपछि पौराणिक मान्यताका अनुयायीहरूले त्यसको खूब आलोचना गरे र आज पनि गर्दैछन् । तर यसको सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादनमा आधारभूत कुरा तुलनात्मक अध्ययन रहेकोले आँखा चिम्लेर मान्दिन भन्न पनि कसैले पाउँदैन । विकासवादीहरू आफ्नो मत प्रतिपादन गर्न तुलनात्मक शरीर विज्ञान (Comparative Anatomy), गर्भविज्ञान (Embryology), पुरासत्त्वशास्त्र (Paleontology) र जीवरसायनशास्त्र (Biochemistry) को सहयोग लिन्छन् भने कालनिर्धारणका लागि परमाणु भौतिक विज्ञान (Atomic Physis) को पनि सहयोग लिन चुक्तैनन् । तुलनात्मक शरीर विज्ञानबाट कुन-कुन प्राणीका शरीरका

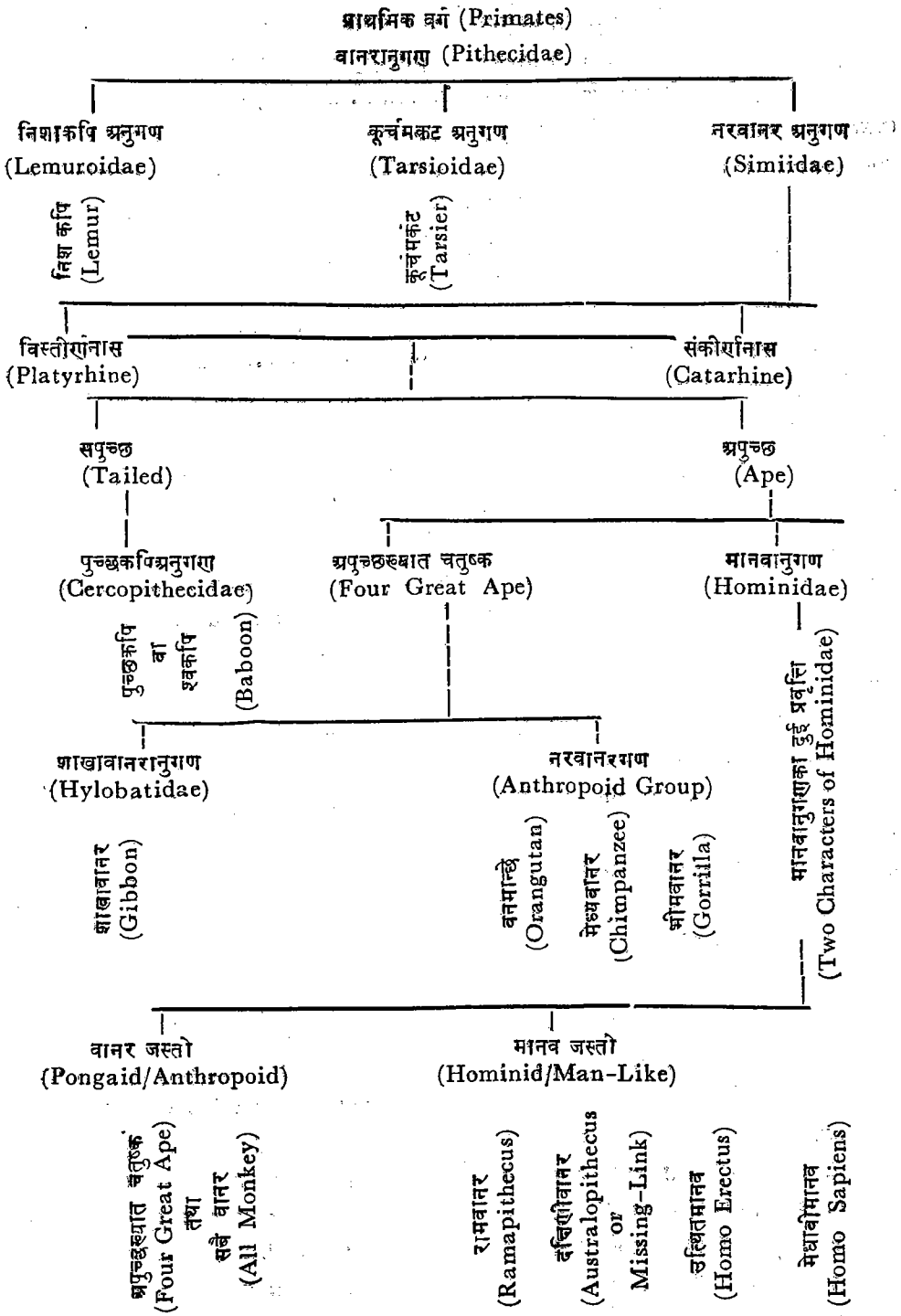
हाडमा कस्तो समानता छ, दाँत र मस्तक वा च्यापुमा के भिन्नता वा समानता छ त्यसको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गर्न सकिन्छ । गर्भविज्ञानको सहयोगबाट शरीरको कुन भागमा भिन्नता छ त्यस्ता अवयवमा भिन्नता हुँदाहुँदै पनि कुन-कुन प्राणीमा गर्भावस्थाको समानता पाइन्छ त्यसको ज्ञान हुन्छ । पुरासत्त्वशास्त्रले सुदूरभूतमा रहेका प्राणीको अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषको अध्ययनमा त्यसैसंग मिल्ने आजको प्राणीसित तुलना गर्ने काममा सहयोग पुऱ्याउँछ र त्यसै प्रकार जीवरसायन शास्त्रले कुन-कुन प्राणीको रक्तमा समानता वा विषमता पाइन्छ त्यसको ज्ञान गराउँछ । उदाहरणका लागि वानर र मनुष्यको शारीरिक रचनामा भेद छ तापनि यिनका अस्थि रचना अर्थात् हाडको बनावट तथा दाँत र मस्तकको रचनामा केही समानता पाइन्छ । यसबाहेक गर्भको प्रकृति पनि मिल्दछ र रक्तमा पनि किञ्चित् समानता देखिन्छ । यस्तै तुलनात्मक अध्ययनको आधारमा प्राक्मानवको उदय वानर वा यस्तै प्राणीबाट भएको हुनुपर्दछ जसलाई आजका मानवको पुर्खा भन्न सकिन्छ भन्ने तर्क विकासवादीहरूले प्रस्तुत गरे । उनीहरू मानवसित मिल्ने त्यस्ता प्राणीलाई सामूहिक रूपमा 'प्राथमिक वर्ग' भन्दछन् । प्राथमिकवर्ग (Primates) भन्ने नामकरण गर्नेमा सबभन्दा जेठा स्विडेनका वनस्पति शास्त्री (Swedish Botanist) लिन्नाएउस (Linnaeus-1707-1778 A.D.) नामक विद्वान् नै थिए । यो नामकरण उनले ईसाको अठारौं शताब्दीको मध्यतिर गरेका हुन् र यसैलाई परवर्त्ती विद्वान्हरूले पनि स्वीकार गर्दै गए ।

प्राथमिक वर्ग (Primates) भन्नाले वानरानुगण (Pithecidae) लाई बुझाउँछ । वानर (Pithecus) एउटा जातिवर्ग (Species) हो । यस्ता प्राणीलाई देख्नासाथ कता-कता मनमा मानवको स्मरण हुन्छ । नेपालीमा एउटा उखानै छ-"नखाउँ भने दिनभरको शिकार, खाउँ भने कान्छा बाको अनुहार ।" यसप्रकार मानवको अनुहारसित भन्नै मिल्ने भएको हुनाले नै यस्ता प्राणीलाई संस्कृत अथवा नेपालीमा पनि 'वा-नर' विकल्पले नर वा मानव अर्थात् मा-छे हो कि भन्ने नामकरण गरियो । वानरानुगणमा पनि कपि, मर्कट र नरवानरका भेदले तीन प्रकारका प्राणी आउँछन् । ती तीन प्रकारका प्राणी हुन्-निशाकपि अनुगण (Lemuroidae), कूर्चमर्कट अनुगण (Tarsioidae) र नरवानरानुगण (Simiidae) । निशाकपि अनुगणमा निशाकपि (Lemur) र त्यससित मिल्न आउने प्राणी पर्दछन् भने कूर्चमर्कट अनुगणमा कूर्चमर्कट (Tarsier) तथा त्यसै जस्ता प्राणी पर्दछन् ।

जसलाई हामीले निशाकपि भयौं त्यसलाई त्यस्तो नामकरण गर्नमा पनि कारण छ । यसप्रकारका प्राणी निशाचर अर्थात् रातमा सक्रिय रहने र दिनमा निष्क्रिय रहने हुँदा यसलाई निशाकपि भनिएको हो । मानव निशाचर नभएर दिवाचर प्राणी हो अतः त्यसलाई मानवसित तुलना गर्न आवश्यक छैन । अर्को विचारयोग्य कुरा हो यो प्राणी ज्यादै सानो आकारको वानरमा आउँछ । यस्ता प्राणीका अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेष उत्तरी अमेरिका र यूरोपमा पाइएका छन् । यी प्राणी मेडागास्कर, अफ्रिका र ईस्ट इण्डीजमा आज पनि जीवित अवस्थामा पाइन्छन् ।

निशाकपिपछि कूर्चमर्कटको पालो आउँछ । यस्ता प्राणीको पुच्छर कुचो जस्तो हुने हुँदा यसलाई कूर्चमकट भन्ने नामकरण गरिएको हो । कूर्चमर्कट, निशाकपि र नरवानरका बीचको भएतापनि यो प्राणी पनि सानै आकारको वानरमा आउँछ । अतः यसलाई मानवसित मेलखाने प्राणीमा लिन सकिन्न । यस्ता प्राणीका अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेष उत्तरी अमेरीका र यूरोपमा पाइएका छन् ।

कूर्चमर्कटपछि नरवानरानुगण (Simiidae) लाई लिइएको छ । यस्ता प्राणीका हात र गोडाका आकार मानिसका जस्तै स्पष्टसित छुट्टिएका हुन्छन् । त्यसैकारण यस्ता प्राणीलाई 'नरवानर' मानिस जस्तो वानर भन्ने नामकरण गरिएको हो । नरवानर पनि विस्तीर्णनास (Platyrhine) र संकीर्णनास (Catarhine) अर्थात् ठूलोनाक र सानोनाक भएका दुई प्रकारका हुन्छन् । ती पनि सपुच्छ (Tailed) र अपुच्छ (Ape)का भेदले दुई प्रकारका हुन्छन् ।


आथमिक वर्ग (Primates)
वानरानुगण (Pithecidae)
निशाकपि अनुगण (Lemuroidae)
कूर्चमर्कट अनुगण (Tarsioidae)
नरवानर अनुगण (Simiidae)
निश कपि (Lemur)
कूर्चमर्कट (Tarsier)
विस्तीर्णनास (Platyrhine)
संकीर्णनास (Catarhine)
सपुच्छ (Tailed)
अपुच्छ (Ape)
पुच्छकपिअनुगण (Cercopithecidae)
अपुच्छख्यात चतुष्क (Four Great Ape)
मानवानुगण (Hominidae)
पुच्छकपि वा श्वकपि (Baboon)
शाखावानरानुगण (Hylobatidae)
नरवानरगण (Anthropoid Group)
शाखावानर (Gibbon)
वनमान्छे (Orangutan)
मेध्यवानर (Chimpanzee)
भीमवानर (Gorrila)
मानवानुगणका दुई प्रवृत्ति (Two Characters of Hominidae)
वानर जस्तो (Pongaid/Anthropoid)
मानव जस्तो (Hominid/Man-Like)
अपुच्छख्यात चतुष्क (Four Great Ape) तथा सबै वानर (All Monkey)
रामवानर (Ramapithecus)
दक्षिणीवानर (Australopithecus or Missing-Link)
उत्थितमानव (Homo Erectus)
मेधावीमानव (Homo Sapiens)

नरवानरानुगण भित्र पर्ने सपुच्छ प्राणीमा पुच्छकपिअनुगण (Cercopithecidae) पर्दछ । पुच्छकपि अनुगणमा पुच्छकपि वा ब्बुकपि (Baboon) र त्यसैसित मिल्ने प्राणी आउँछन् । मानव सपुच्छ प्राणी नभएर अपुच्छ प्राणी हो । त्यसकारण अपुच्छ कै विषयमा विचार गर्नु पर्छ । अपुच्छ प्राणीका पनि दुई प्रकारका भेद हुन्छन् । जस्तै अपुच्छख्यात चतुष्क (Four-Great Apes) र मानवानुगण (Hominidae) । जसलाई हामीले अपुच्छख्यात चतुष्क भन्यौं त्यसका पनि शाखावानरानुगण (Hylobatidae) र नरवानरगण (Anthropoid Group) का नामले दुई भेद हुन्छन् । शाखावानरानुगणमा शाखावानर (Gibbon) र त्यसैसित समानता राख्ने प्राणी आउँछन् । यस्ता प्राणीलाई शाखावानर भन्नुमा पनि कारण छ । शाखावानर नामका प्राणीको स्वभाव प्रायः रूखको हाँगामै झुण्डिएर बस्ने खालको हुन्छ । अतः यस्ता प्राणीलाई शाखावानर भन्ने नामकरण गरिएको हो । मानव रूखको हाँगामा झुण्डिएर निर्वाह गर्ने खालको प्राणी होइन त्यसकारण नरवानरगण भनिने प्राणीसित तुलना गरेर हेर्नु पर्दछ । नरवानरगणमा पनि वनमान्छे (Orangutan), मेच्यवानर (Chimpanzee) र भीमवानर (Gorilla) नामका तीनप्रकारका प्राणी आउँछन् । जसलाई हामीले मानवानुगण (Hominidae) भनेका थियौं त्यसमा आज पाइने अपुच्छख्यात चतुष्क भित्र पर्ने नरवानरगणसित मेल खाने सुदूरभूतको समयका अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषको रूपमा पाइएका आजको मानवसित मेलखाने प्राणीलाई पनि विद्वानहरूले वानर (Pithecus) भन्ने नामकरण गरेर मानवानुगणको अनुसूचीमा राखेका छन् । यसरी नरवानर जस्ता वानरलाई मानवानुगणको अनुसूचीमा समाविष्ट गर्नमा पनि कारण छ । जसरी सुदूरभूतका त्यस्ता प्राणीका अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेष आजको नरवानरसित मेल खान्छन् त्यसैगरी आज जीवित रहेका नरवानरलाई मानवसित तुलना गरेर हेर्दा तिनका धेरै कुरा मानवसित मेल खान आउँछन् । अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषको रूपमा पाइएका सुदूरभूतका त्यस्ता वानरमा मिश्र (Egypt) को पूर्व अतिनूतनवानर (Propliopithecus), केन्याको पूर्वदूत वानर (Proconsul), सिवालिकको सिवालिक मानव भनिने सिवावानर (Sivapithecus), केन्यामा पाइएको सिवालिक मानव जस्तै सिववानर (Sivapithecus) र केन्याको अर्को पंकवानर (Limnopithecus) पर्दछन् । यसैगरी सिवालिकका अरू दुई शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) र यूरोपका दुई अतिनूतनवानर (Pliopithecus) पनि यस सूचीमा आउँछन् । पहिले प्रसंगवश चर्चा गरिएका सिवालिकका दुई शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) को लगत्तै पछि पालो आउँछ केन्याको अर्को केन्यावानर (Kenyapithecus) को । हामीले चर्चामा ल्याउन खोजेको रामवानर (Ramapithecus) नामको प्राणी यही हो । यसको नाम किन यस्तो रहन गयो त्यसलाई यहाँ पुनः दोहोऱ्याउने आवश्यक छैन । केन्याको रामवानर पछि नेपालको रामवानर अर्थात् रामपिथेकसको पालो आउँछ र त्यसपछि भारत र अन्य एशियाली मुलुकमा पाइएका त्यस्ता प्राणी अर्थात् रामपिथेकस पर्दछन् । सिवालिकको रामपिथेकसलाई पहिले शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) पनि भनिन्थ्यो । रामवानर पछि दक्षिणीवानर (Australopithecus) नामको प्राणीलाई लिइएको छ । अहिले प्रस्तुत गरिएको केन्याको पछिल्लो केन्यावानर अर्थात् रामपिथेकस, नेपालको बुटवलपिथेकस, भारत र अन्य एशियाली मुलुकमा पाइएका रामपिथेकस सम्मको काललाई मानवपूर्वकाल (Pre-Human Period) भनिन्छ । दक्षिणीवानरभन्दा पछिको काललाई मानवयुग (Age of Man) भन्ने नामकरण गरिएको पाइन्छ । यसको तात्पर्य यही भयो दक्षिणीवानर, वानर र मानवका बीचको प्राणी हो । दक्षिणीवानरले आजभन्दा असीलाख वर्षदेखि बीसलाख वर्ष पहिलेसम्मको लामो अवधिलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ ।

मानवको विकासक्रममा प्राथमिकवर्ग (Primates) का प्राणीको उत्पत्ति कुन समय भयो भन्ने तर्फ विचार गर्दा वानरानुगण (Pithecidae) भित्र पर्ने निशाकपि अनुगण (Lemuroidae) र कूर्चमर्कट अनुगण (Tarsioidae) जस्ता साना वानरको विकास नवजीवक उपकल्प (Cenozoic) भित्र पर्ने तृतीयखण्ड (Tertiary) अन्तर्गतको आजभन्दा चारकरोड पचासलाख वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ हुने आदिनूतनाश्मयुग (Oligocene Epoch) मा भएको देखिन्छ ।[7] यसैप्रकार तीनकरोड पचासलाख

७/ परिशिष्ट १ मा हेर्नुहोस् ।

वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ हुने मध्यनूतनाश्म युग (Miocene Epoch)[8] मा आजका ठूलावानर एवं नरवानरका पुर्खा अर्थात् अपुच्छख्यात चतुष्क (Four Great Apes) र मानवानुगण जस्तो आकार (Hominidae Forms) का केही प्राणी पनि उत्पन्न भए। त्यसपछि एककरोड चालीसलाख वर्ष पहिले प्रारम्भ हुने अतिनूतनाश्मयुग (Pliocene Period) मा आएर संसारमा पहिलोपल्ट उत्थित नरवानर (Pithecanthropus Erectus) आयो। मानव पनि उठेर हिंड्ने प्राणी हो त्यसकारण यसरी मानव जस्तै उठेर हिंड्न सक्ने प्राणीलाई उत्थितवानर भन्ने नामकरण गरिएको हो। यस्ता प्राणी उठेर हिंड्ने भए पनि ती मानवको गणनामा आउँदैनन् र मानवानुगणमा मात्र आउँछन्। नरवानर र उत्थित-वानर जस्ता मानवानुगण भिन्न पर्ने प्राणीका शरीरमा दुई प्रकारका लक्षण हुन्छन्। तिनलाई क्रमशः वानर सदृशानुगण (Pongidae) र मानवानुगण (Hominidae) भिन्न राखेर तुलना गरिन्छ।

अघि प्रसंगवश चर्चा गरिएको मिश्रको पूर्व अति-नूतनवानर (Propliopithecus) भनिने प्राणीको लक्षण मानवानुगणभन्दा वानर-सदृशानुगणमा मिल्न आउँछ। केन्याको पूर्वदूतवानर (Proconsul) र सिवालिकको सिवालिक मानव भनिने सिववानर (Sivapithecus) मानवानुगण र वानर सदृशानुगण दुवैको बीचमा पर्ने प्राणी हुन्। तर केन्याको सिववानर (Sivapithecus) भने वानर सदृशानुगणमा पर्दछ। केन्याको पंकवानर (Limnopithecus) र सिवालिकका अरू दुई शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) तथा यूरोपका दुई अतिनूतन वानर (Pliopithecus) पनि वानर सदृशानुगणको सूचीमा आउँछन्। केन्याको अर्को केन्यावानर (Kenyapithe-cus) अर्थात् रामपिथेकस, नेपालको रामवानर (Rama-pithecus) एवं भारत र अन्य मुलुकहरूमा अहिलेसम्म जानकारीमा आएका रामपिथेकस र दक्षिणीवानर (Australopithecus) भनिने प्राणी भने मानवानुगणमा पर्दछन्। यी प्राणी मानवानुगणको सूचीमा परे पनि ती मानव भने होइनन्। विकासवादीहरूको भनाइ अनुसार यस्ता प्राणी वानर र मानवको विकास रेखा छुट्टिएका समय यी मानवको विकास रेखातिर ढल्किएका पाइन्छन्। त्यसैकारण रामपिथेकसलाई मानवको पुर्खा भनिएको हो। रामपिथेकसलाई मानवको पुर्खा भनिए पनि यो मानवको गणनामा आउँदैन। तर यस क्रममा सबभन्दा पछि आउने दक्षिणीवानरको मानव र वानरका बीचमा बसेर लुप्त शृंखलाको काम गर्दछ। त्यसैकारण केही विद्वान्हरूले यसलाई लुप्तशृङ्खला वा लुप्तकडी (Missing Link) भन्ने नामकरण गरेको पाइन्छ।

हामी जुन विषयवस्तुको अध्ययन गर्न लागेका छौं त्यसमा ईसाको बीसौं शताब्दीका वर्षहरू निकै लाभदायी सिद्ध भएका छन्। त्यसमा खासगरी विते को आधा समय त यसक्षेत्रमा अझै महत्वपूर्ण मानिन्छ। गत पच्चीस तीस वर्षभित्र अन्वेषकहरूले मानवाकृतिका यस्ता प्रशस्त अवशेषहरू प्राप्त गरेका छन् जसले हाम्रो अध्ययन सामग्रीको कोषलाई मात्र वृद्धि गराएको छैन अपितु पुराना सामग्रीको पुनर्मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने बाटो पनि फराकिलो पारेको छ। आदिनूतनाश्म (Oligocene)[9] मा नयाँ र पुराना विश्वका वानरहरू विभाजित भएका कुराको चर्चा पहिले नै भइसकेको भए तापनि पाठकको सुविधाका लागि अझै व्याख्या गर्नु त्यति अप्रिय होला जस्तो लाग्दैन। मध्यनूतनाश्म (Miocene)[10] को समय-मा अर्थात् तीनकरोड पचासलाख वर्ष पहिलेको प्रारम्भिक कालमा मेध्यवानर (Chimpanzee) र शाखावानर (Gibbon) का बीचको सानो आकार भएको प्राथमिक वर्ग (Primates) को एउटा समूह थियो जसलाई आज-काल शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) भन्ने चलन छ। यूरोप, अफ्रिका, भारत, चीन आदिका विभिन्न ठाउँ र समयमा पाइएका यस्ता प्राणीका अवशेषलाई अलग-अलग नामकरण गरेर वर्गीकरण गरिएको छ। शुष्कवानरको सम्बन्ध मानवानुगणसित छ वा नरवानरानुगणसित छ त्यो अझै स्पष्ट भइसकेको छैन। कारण तिनमा यस्ता प्रशस्त गुणहरू छन् जसको आधारमा यिनलाई पहिले चर्चा गरिएका दुई वर्गमध्ये जता राखे पनि हुन्छ। तैपनि धेरै जसो शरीर विज्ञानवेत्ता (Anatomist)

८, ९, १०) परिशिष्ट १ मा हेर्नुहोस्।

हरूले यसलाई पूर्वमानवानुगण (Proto-Hominids) भन्दा पूर्व नरवानरगण (Proto-Anthropoids)मा नै राख्ने कुरामा आफ्नो राय व्यक्त गरेका छन् ।

पहिले शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) मा गणना गरिएको एउटा समूहलाई आजकाल अर्कै नामकरण गरिएको छ जसलाई रामवानर (Ramapithecus) भनिन्छ । भारतीयमूलको यस प्राणीलाई प्रारम्भमा मानवानुगण (Hominid) मा होइन वानरानुगण (Pongaid) मा समाविष्ट गर्ने चलन थियो । तर यता आएर तीं सामग्रीको पुनर्मूल्याङ्कन गर्दा रामवानर (Ramapithecus) मानवानुगण (Hominid) को सूचीमा पर्ने भएको छ । त्यसैकारण नेपालमा पाइएको रामपिथेकसलाई पनि मानवानुगणको पंक्तिमा राखिएको हो । यथार्थमा भन्ने हो भने आजको धारणा अनुसार मान्यता प्राप्त शुद्ध मानवजातिको पहिलो सदस्यमा यसैलाई लिइएको छ । रामपिथेकसको प्रारम्भ मध्यनूतनाश्मयुग (Miocene Epoch)[11] को अन्तिम अवस्थामा भयो । शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) र रामपिथेकस केही मात्रामा समकालीन देखिएको हुँदा यिनमा मानवानुगण र नरवानरानुगणको विभाजनको सीमारेखा पनि आदिनूतनाश्म युग (Oligocene Epoch)[12] को अन्त्य अथवा मध्यनूतनाश्म युग (Miocene Epoch)[13] को प्रारम्भमा छुट्टिएको अनुमान हुन्छ । त्यसैकारण पहिले प्रसंगवश चर्चा गरिएको लुई लीके (Lois Leakey) ले अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा प्राप्त गरेको एउटा प्राथमिकवर्ग (Primate) को प्राणीलाई शुरूमा केन्यावानर (Kenyapithecus) भन्ने नामकरण गरिएको थियो र अहिले त्यसलाई भारतको रामवानर (Ramapithecus) वर्गमा समाविष्ट गरिएको छ ।

हामीले प्रसंगवश दहातुमन्दाति तेजोद्गिर सस्थानी–४० कालनिर्धारण विधि (K/Ar Radioactive Isotope-40 Dating Method) को चर्चा गरेका थियौं । यसविधि अनुसार प्रोफेसर एल०एस०बी लीकेले अफ्रिकाको केन्यामा प्राप्त गरेको सबभन्दा जेठो मानिने रामपिथेकस आजभन्दा एककरोड चालीसलाख (14 Million) वर्ष पहिलेको मानिएको छ भने हामीलाई अहिलेसम्म थाहा भएको नरवानरानुगण (Anthropoid or Simiid) मा गणना हुने सबभन्दा पुरानो शाखावानर (Gibbon) आजभन्दा दुईकरोड तीसलाखदेखि दुईकरोड चालीसलाख (23–24 Million) वर्ष पुरानो ठहरिन आएको छ । रामपिथेकस मानवानुगण (Hominid) को पुर्खा हो भने शाखावानर (Gibbon) नरवानरानुगण (Anthropoid) को पुर्खा हो । मानवानुगण (Hominid) र नरवानरानुगण (Anthropoid) का विकासका यी दुई समय भिन्न एउटा अर्को मानवानुगण (Hominid) को विकास भएको देखिन्छ । यस्ता मानवानुगणमा पर्ने प्राणीको अस्तित्व आजभन्दा बीसलाखदेखि पचीसलाख (2–2.5 Million) वर्ष पहिलेसम्म थियो । यस सीमा रेखाभित्र काबम रहेका मानवानुगणका प्राणीमा दक्षिणीवानर (Australopithecus) र त्यसका सम्बन्धीहरू पर्दछन् ।

रामपिथेकसको रहन–सहन कस्तो थियो त्यस विषयमा हामीलाई राम्रो ज्ञान नभएको हुँदा यो मेच्छवानर (Chimpanzee) र भीमवानर (Gorilla)भन्दा सानो आकारका साथै स्थलाहारी (Ground Feeder) तथा जानुचारी (Knuckle–Walker) थियो होला भन्ने सिद्धान्तमा पनि शङ्का गर्ने ठाउँ रहन आउँछ । त्यति मात्र होइन रामपिथेकस, शुष्कवानर (Dryopithecus) भन्दा ठूलो थियो भन्ने सिद्धान्तलाई मान्ने पनि कुनै आधार हामीसित छैन । तर अफ्रिकाको टर्नान किल्ला (Fort Ternan) मा पाइएका हाडखोड यदि उसैले फोरेका हुन् भने रामपिथेकस केही अंशमा मांसाहारी पनि थियो भन्ने कुरामा विश्वास गर्न सकिन्छ । अतः सारांशमा भन्ने हो भने मानवजातिको पुर्खा मानिने रामपिथेकसका विषयमा अझै पर्याप्त अनुसन्धान हुन बाँकी नै छ ।

भूगर्भ र पुरासत्त्वको क्षेत्रमा सुदूरभूतका अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषको रूपमा पाइएका प्राणीका उदाहरण बुटवलमा मात्र होइन अन्यत्र पनि प्राप्त भएका छन् ।

११, १२, १३, परिशिष्ट १ मा हेर्नुहोस् ।

भूगर्भ शास्त्री श्री चन्द्रकान्त शर्माले जनकपुरमा पाइएको जलहात्ती (Hippopotamus) र काठमाडौंको लोकुएडोलमा पाइएको महागज (Stegodon) को अस्थि अवशेषको चित्र आफ्नो पुस्तकमा प्रस्तुत गर्नुभएको छ । यसैप्रकार २०१९ सालमा यस्तै महागज भनिने प्राणीको अवशेष पुरातत्व विभागलाई गोदावरीको छेउमा प्राप्त भएको थियो । चितवनको छेउमा रहेको देवघाटमा मनमुकुन्देश्वरका नामले कछुवाको एउटा सिंगो अश्मीभूत अस्थि अवशेषलाई पूजा गरेर मूल देवताको रूपमा राखिएको कुरा यस पंक्तिका लेखकले स्वयं देखेको छ । यसबाहेक काठमाडौंको सीतापाइलाका छेउमा रहेको आदेश्वर मन्दिरभित्र रहेको आदेश्वर महादेवका नामले पूजिने शिवलिङ्ग पनि सुदूरभूतमा अश्मीभूत रूखको ठुटो हो कि भन्ने शङ्का हुन्छ । खासगरेर नेपाल अधिराज्यको मेचीदेखि महाकालीसम्म तेर्सिएर बसेको सिवालिक पर्वत पुरासत्त्वको क्षेत्रमा अनुसन्धानका लागि ज्यादै महत्त्वपूर्ण देखिन आएको छ । यो क्षेत्र नेपाल राष्ट्रका लागि मात्र होइन अपितु विश्वकै लागि महत्त्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र हो । नेपाल यस्ता महत्त्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रको साङ्गोपाङ्ग अध्ययन गराउन आर्थिक र प्राविधिक क्षेत्रमा त्यति सक्षम नहुन पनि सक्छ । अतः यस्तो काममा अमेरिकाको राष्ट्रिय भौगोलिक समिति (National Geographic Society) र यस्तै कार्य गर्न १९७४ ईस्वीमा एल०एस०बी० लीकेका नाउँमा खडा भएको संस्था (L.S.B. Leakey Foundation) सित अथवा विश्वका अन्य कुनै यस्तो काममा चाख राख्ने संस्थासित आर्थिक तथा प्राविधिक सहयोग लिएर श्री ५ को सरकारको नेतृत्वमा भौगर्भिक र पुरासात्त्विक (Geological and Paleontological) अन्वेषण तथा उत्खनन भएमा त्यसबाट प्राप्त भएको ज्ञानले नेपाललाई मात्र होइन विश्वकै ज्ञानकोषलाई वृद्धि गराउन सक्नेछ भन्ने यस पंक्तिका लेखकको धारणा छ । अस्तु ।

परिशिष्ट १

कालक्रम तालिका (Chronological Table)

अर्थात

भौगर्भिक समयसारिणी (Geological Time Scale)

कल्प नाम	उपकल्प नाम	खण्ड नाम	युग नाम	युगारम्भ वर्षपूर्व	जैविक युगनाम
अजीवकल्प (Azoic Age)			त्रिखण्ड पूर्वयुग (Pre-Cambrian)	चारअरब पचासकरोड वा दुईअरब 4,500 Million years or 2,000 Million years	अजीवक (Azoic)
जीवकल्प (Zoic Age)	पुराजीवक (Paleozoic)	प्रथमखण्ड (Primary)	त्रिखण्डारम्भयुग (Cambrian)	सत्ताउन्न करोड 570 Million years	अपृष्ठवंशीययुग (Age of Invertebrates)
			अवरप्रवालयुग (Ordovician)	पचास करोड 500 Million years	
			प्रवालयुग (Silurian)	चवालीस करोड 440 Million years	
			मत्स्ययुग (Devonian)	उनन्चालीस करोड पचासलाख 395 Million years	
			प्रांगारयुग (Carboniferous)	तीस करोड 300 Million years	
			गिरि वा शैलीयुग (Permian) (महाभारतको उत्पत्ति)	अट्ठाइस करोड 280 Million years	
	मध्यजीवक (Mesozoic)	द्वितीयखण्ड (Secondry)	रक्ताश्म शैलयुग (Triassic)	बाइसकरोड पचासलाख 225 Million years	सरीसृपयुग (Age of Reptiles)
			सरीसृपयुग (Jurassic)	उन्नाइस करोड 190 Million years	
			खरोमाटो वा खरोद्रुङ्गाका युग (Cretaceous) (हिमालयको उत्पत्ति)	तेह्रकरोड पचासलाख 135 Million years	
	नवजीवक (Cenozoic)	तृतीयखण्ड (Tertiary)	उषाश्मयुग (Eocene)	सात करोड 70 Million years	स्तनपायीयुग (Age of Mammals)
			आदिनूतनाश्मयुग (Oligocene)	चारकरोड पचासलाख 45 Million years	
			मध्यनूतनाश्मयुग (Miocene)	तीनकरोड पचासलाख 35 Million years	
			अतिनूतनाश्मयुग (Pliocene) (सिवालिकको उत्पत्ति)	एककरोड चालीसलाख 14 Million years	
		चतुर्थखण्ड (Quaternary)	प्रातिनूतनाश्मयुग (Pleistocene)	पचासलाखदेखि चालीसलाख 4-5 Million years	मानवयुग (Age of Man)
			नवाश्म वा आधुनिकयुग (Holocene or Recent)	दशहजार वर्षपूर्व 10,000 years B.P.	आधुनिक मानव युग (Age of Recent Man)

परिशिष्ट २

प्रातिनूतनाश्मका उपविभाजन (Sub-divisions of Pleistocene) अर्थात् हिमयुगको कालक्रम तालिका (Chronological Table of Glacial Age)*

पुराप्रातिनूतनाश्म वा पूर्वहिमानी (Lower Pleistocene or Villa Franchian)	मध्यप्रातिनूतनाश्म (Middle Pleistocene)				अपरप्रातिनूतनाश्म (Upper Pleistocene)			हिमान्युत्तर (Post Glacial)
	हिमयुग (Glacial Age)							
यस युगमा अनेक प्राचीन हिमानीका उपकथाहरू लुकेर बसेका छन् (Several early cold Episodes)	प्रथम हिमानी (1.Glacial)	प्रथम अन्तर हिमानी (1. Inter Glacial)	द्वितीय हिमानी (2. Glacial)	द्वितीय अन्तर हिमानी (2. Inter Glacial)	तृतीय हिमानी (3.Glacial)	तृतीय अन्तर हिमानी (3. Inter Glacial	चतुर्थ हिमानी (4.Glacial)	आधुनिक (Recent)
	गुञ्ज (Gunz)	गुञ्ज-मिण्डेल (Gunz-Mindel)	मिण्डेल (Mindel)	मिण्डेल-रिस्स (Mindel-Riss)	रिस्स (Riss)	रिस्स-वुर्म (Riss-Wurm)	वुर्म (Wurm)	
	१ । २		१ । २		१ । २ । ३		१।२।३।४	
समय तारिणी (Time Scale)	१,०००,०००	६००,०००	५००,०००	२५०,०००	२००,०००	१५०,०००	८०,०००	१०,००० वर्ष आजभन्दा पूर्व (10,000 years Ago B.P.)

*यसमा जुन काल दिइएको छ त्यो मोटामोटी अनुमान मात्र हो ।

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कर्णाटवंशी र मल्लराजवंशीको सम्बन्ध हुनामा केही घटना

—शङ्करमान राजवंशी

नेपालमा कर्णाटवंशी भनेर नान्यदेवको वंशलाई भन्ने गरेको छ, जुन नान्यदेवले सिम्रौनगढ हालको वीरगञ्ज वारा जिल्लामा आई आफ्नो राज्य स्थापना गरेका थिए भन्ने र मल्लराजवंशी जयभद्रमल्लसंग नान्यदेवको गोतियार श्यामसिंहदेवकी छोरी नरेन्द्रलक्ष्मी-को वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध भएको तथा जयभद्रमल्ल मिथिला-को शासकमा नियुक्त भएको एवं जयभद्र पछि उनका छोरा नागमल्ल त्यसपछि उनका छोरा जयजगत्मल्ल त्यसपछि उनका छोरा नागेन्द्रमल्ल त्यसपछि उनका छोरा उग्रमल्ल भएको फेरि सिम्रौनगढे नान्यदेवको पुस्तामा नान्यदेवका छोरा गांगदेव त्यसपछि उनका छोरा नृसिंह-देव, त्यसपछि उनका छोरा शक्तिसिंहदेव त्यसपछि उनका छोरा रामसिंहदेव त्यसपछि रामसिंहदेवका छोरा हरि-सिंहदेव भए भन्ने कुरा पृथ्विका धेरै वंशावलीहरूमा उल्लेख छ ।

अब स्थितिमल्लको पालामा लेखिएको गोपाल-वंशावलीबाट देखिएको कुरामा हरिसिंहदेवको पालामा वि०सं० १३८२ माघमा दिल्लीका बादशाह गयासुद्दीन तुगलकले बंगाल दखल गरी तिरहुततिरबाट दिल्ली फर्कदा तिरहुते सिम्रौनगढका राजा हरिसिंहदेवले आफ्नो राज्यमा हमला गर्न आयो भन्ने ठानी उ स्वयं अघेंलो भई गयासुद्दीन तुगलकसंग मुकाबिला गर्न गएथे । तर गयासुद्दीन तुगलकको सेनासंग उनको केही जोर चलेन । आखीर गयासुद्दीन तुगलकको सेनाले सिम्रौनगढ ध्वस्त पार्दा हरिसिंहदेव टिक्न नसकी आफ्ना परिवार र मन्त्री सहित भागेर सिंधुलीको बाटो गरी दोलखातिर आउँदा बीच बाटोमा पुगी टिपाउन भन्ने ठाउँमा हरिसिंहदेवको मृत्यु भयो । राजग्रामका मछिमवहार क्वाठनायक मभी-भारोहरूले हरिसिंहदेवका छोरा र मन्त्री भारदारलाई कैद गरी उनको सबै धनसम्पत्ति लुटेर लिए । हरि-सिंहदेवकी रानी देवलदेवी चाहिं त्यताबाट नेपाल उपत्य-कातिर भागेर आई रुद्रमल्ल कहाँ शरण परे । त्यस बखत नेपाल उपत्यकामा रुद्रमल्ल र अरिमल्लको संयुक्त शासन थियो । राज्यको सारा अधिकार चाहिं रुद्रमल्लके हातमा थियो । तर शरणार्थी देवलदेवीको राम्रो व्यवस्था गर्न नपाउँदै वि०सं० १३८३ आषाढमा रुद्रमल्लको मृत्यु भयो । रुद्रमल्लको मृत्यु हुँदा उनका चार ओटी रानी सती गए । त्यस बखत उनकी दुइरी नाबालक छोरी नायकदेवी मात्र थिइन् । तिनीलाई बज्यै यदुमलदेवीले स्याहारिन् । देवलदेवीलाई पनि पदुमलदेवीले नै व्यवस्था गरिन् । यसरी दुवैको प्रबन्ध पदुमलदेवीले गरेकी थिइन् । रुद्रमल्लको पहिलो छोरा वीरमल्ल वि०सं० १३७७ फागुन-मा जन्मेर वि०सं० १३७८ पौषमा मरिसकेको थियो । रुद्रमल्लको दोस्रो छोरा त्रिभुवनमल्ल चाहिं वि.सं. १३७९ माघमा जन्मेर वि०सं० १३८१ आश्विनमा मरिसकेको थियो । त्यसैले रुद्रमल्लको शासनाधिकारको हकदार उनकी छोरी नायकदेवी नै भएकी थिइन् ।

काठमाडौं विष्णुमती वारी इन्द्रायणी स्थानको शिलाभिलेख

काठमाडौं स्थित कैसलटोलको एकमुक ताडपत्र

वि.सं. १३८६ पौषमा युधुनिमराजकुलमा अर्थात् दुबै राजकुलमा हकदार ठाकुर नहुनाले काशेश्वरवंशी राजकुमार हरिश्चन्द्रदेव र गोपालदेव दुइजनालाई दक्षिणबाट झिकाई चनिगलमा राखे । कारण अरिमल्लको पनि हकदार छोरा नभई छोरी कामादेवी मात्र थिइन् । त्यसपछि तेस्रो महीना फागुनमा पदुमलदेवीले नायकदेवीको हरिश्चन्द्रसंग र कामादेवीको गोपालदेवसंग विवाह गरिदिए । तिनताक हकदार छोरा नभएमा डोलाजी खोजी कन्याको सानै उमेरमा विवाह गरिदिने चलन थियो । घरजुवाई खोज्नुलाई डोलाजी खोज्नु भन्दछन् । यसबखत नायकदेवी ७, ८ वर्षकी मात्र थिइन् ।

देवलदेवी चतुर राजनीतिज्ञ थिइन् । तिनीले अभयराम मुल्मीलाई हात लिई वि.सं. १३८६ चैत्रमा अभयराम मुल्मीद्वारा मभीम विहार क्वाठ दखल गराए । अनि हरिसिंहदेवका छोरा कर्णाटवंशी तथा जगतसिंहदेव मन्त्री भारदार कैदबाट मुक्त भए । त्यसपछि वि.सं. १३८८ मंसीरमा हरिसिंहदेवका मन्त्री चण्डेश्वरले राजग्राम पनि दखल गरे । वि.सं. १३८९ आश्विनमा ६७ वर्ष उमेर पुगिसकेकी पदुमलदेवीको देहावसान भएपछि दरवारको राजनीतिमा देवलदेवीले भूमिका खेल्ने अवसर पायो । देवलदेवीको अभिप्राय नायकदेवी आफ्ना छोरा जगतसिंहदेवलाई पारिदिन पाए हुन्थ्यो भन्ने थियो । किनभने नायकदेवीलाई पाउनु नै नेपालको शासनाधिकार पाउनु थियो । त्यसैले षड्यन्त्रद्वारा केही वर्षबाद वि.सं. १३९२ ज्येष्ठमा विष प्रयोग गरी हरिश्चन्द्रदेव मारिए । अनि हरिश्चन्द्रदेवका भाइ गोपालदेवले हक दावी गर्न आएथे । तर कर्णाटवंशी श्री जगतसिंहदेवलाई नायकदेवी पारिसकेको देखेर गोपालदेव भक्तपुरबाट भागेर पाटन गए । त्यस बखत नायकदेवी १३, १४ वर्षकी मात्र थिइन् ।

षड्यन्त्र भएको हुनाले गोपालदेव आफ्नो देशतिर भाग्न सकेको थिएन । विहारकोटमा बसेका जोगराम मुल्मीले जोगविहारका पालसित मिलेर गोपालदेवलाई शंखाकोटमा राखेका थिए । वि०सं० १३९४ ज्येष्ठमा तिरहुते जगतसिंहदेवले मनिगलमा प्रवेश गरी अभयराममुल्मी र थपितमाहरूद्वारा घेरा दिंदा विहारकोटमा बसेका जोगराममुल्मी गोपालदेवलाई एक्लै छोडी टोंखामा भागे । गोपालदेव एक्लै हुँदा तिनलाई बाहिर धिसारेर ल्याई जगतसिंहका परिजनले सावसित्र चुटे । त्यहाँबाट एकेन प्रकारले ज्यान जोगाई गोपालदेव भागेर जोगरामकहाँ नै गए । वि०सं० १३९७ पौषमा त्रिपुरराजकुलले गोपालदेवलाई घेरा हाल्दा जोगराममुल्मीसंग लडाई पऱ्यो । त्यस लडाईमा जोगराममुल्मीका २० जना मारिए । गोपालदेवलाई पनि मारिदिए । जोगराममुल्मी पनि साथसाथै पक्रिए ।

कर्णाटवंशी जगतसिंहदेवसंग नायकदेवीको दोस्रो विवाह सम्बन्ध भएपछि वि०सं० १४०३ पौषमा जगतसिंहदेवकी पुत्री राजल्लदेवीको जन्म भयो । राजल्लदेवी जन्मेको १० दिनमा आमा नायकदेवी सुत्केरीको व्यथाले परलोक भइन् । जगतसिंहदेव पनि विरोधीको पेचले कैद भए । तो राजल्लदेवीलाई वज्यै देवलदेवीले कष्टपूर्वक पाली हुर्काइन् । यी राजल्लदेवी ८ वर्षकी भएपछि उनको विवाहको लागि वि.स. १४११ आश्विनमा देवलदेवीले दक्षिणतिरबाट स्थितिमल्ललाई डोलाजी झिकाए । त्यसको ५ महीनापछि फागुनमा देवलदेवीले स्थितिमल्लसंग राजल्लदेवीको विवाह गरिदिए ।

यी स्थितिमल्ल हरिसिंहदेवका पालामा गयासुद्दीन तुगलकको आक्रमणले लाङ्गापाखा लागेका मल्लराजवंशी जयभद्रको वंशमा जन्मेका उग्रमल्लका नाति अशोकमल्लका छोरा हुन् भन्ने कुरा वंशावलीहरूबाट देखिन्छ । राजल्लदेवी हरिसिंहदेवको नातिनी सिद्ध हुन आएकोले राजल्लदेवीसंग वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध भएका स्थितिमल्ल हरिसिंहदेवका नातिनी जुवाई हुन् भन्ने स्पष्ट भएको छ । यी मल्लराजवंशी स्थितिमल्ल रघुकुलका हुन् । रघुकुलका रामचन्द्रका इष्टदेवी तलेजु भवानी हुन् भन्ने कुरा पनि वंशावलीहरूमै उल्लेख छ । तो तलेजु भवानी यी स्थितिमल्लको पनि इष्टदेवी हुनाले यी स्थितिमल्लले तलेजुभवानीको व्यवस्था गरिदिएको कुरा पनि वंशावलीहरूमा उल्लेख छ । यी मल्लराजवंशी राजाको दरवार जहाँजहाँ रहेको छ त्यहाँत्यहाँ तलेजु पनि रहेको हुन्छ । स्थितिमल्ल रघुकुलका हुन् भन्ने कुरा स्थितिमल्लकै समयमा लेखिएको भैरवानन्द नामक नाटकमा स्थितिमल्ललाई रघुवंशचक्रचूडामणि भनी स्पष्ट लेखिएबाट थाहा हुन्छ । तिनले दीक्षाग्रहण पनि यहाँकै गरेका थिए ।

तर स्थितिमल्लकै वंशज सिद्धिनरसिंहमल्ल तथा प्रतापमल्ल र भूपालेन्द्रमल्लले आफूलाई कर्णाटवंशी हरिसिंहदेवका वंश भनी शिलापत्रमा उल्लेख गरेका छन् । वास्तवमा कर्णाटवंशसंग सम्बन्ध भएको देखाएका रहेछन् । उक्त कुरा नबुझदा कतिपय इतिहासकारहरूको अर्थ गराइ लटरपटर हुन गएकोछ । त्यस्तै स्थितिमल्लको वंशमा पनि वंशावलीकारले वंशतालिकाको प्रसंग मिलाउन नजान्दा आनकोतान फरक परी इतिहासकारहरू अलमल्लिएका छन् । तर विचार गर्दा कर्णाटवंशी श्यामसिंहदेव नान्यदेवको भाइ हुनु संभव छ । किनभने आफ्नो राज्यमा पछि विद्रोह नहोस् भन्नानिमित्त भाइकी छोरी नरेन्द्रलक्ष्मीदेवीको जयभद्रमल्लसंग विवाह गरिदिएका होलान् । नान्यदेवले नेपाल सिमरौनगढ स्वाधीन गर्दा भगाएका जयभद्रमल्ल हुन् भन्ने कुरा वंशावलीमा उल्लेख छ । तब जयभद्रको सातौं पुस्ताका स्थितिमल्ल नान्यदेवको आठौं पुस्ताका राजल्लदेवीको वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध हुनु कालक्रमले मिल्दो हुन आउँछ । हरिसिंहदेवपछिको पुस्ता चाहिं उनका छोरा जगतसिंहबाट टुंगिएको सिद्ध छ ।

प्रतापमल्लको हनूमान्ढोका कृष्णमन्दिरमा रहेको शिलापत्रमा प्रतापमल्लले विहारदेशका रजपूतकन्या श्री रूपमती र कर्णाटदेशका रजपूतकन्या श्रीराजमतीसंग आफ्नो वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध भएको कुरा पनि उल्लेख गरेका छन् । उहिलेका राजाहरूले बाहिरका खानदान रजपूतकी छोरीबेटीसंग सम्बन्ध बाँध्नुमा आफूलाई गौरव सम्झन्थे । यो परम्परा शाहकालीन राजा त्रिभुवनका पालासम्म पनि थियो । प्रतापमल्लका शशुराखलक कूचविहारका कोचराजवंशी हुन् । ती कोचराजवंशीलाई महाभारतकालका राजा विराटका साला कीचकको वंशज भन्दछन् । यसरी प्रतापमल्लले विहारका र पुनः कर्णाटका राजवंशीसंग वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध देखाएको स्पष्ट छ । त्यसकारण प्रतापमल्ल तथा सिद्धिनरसिंहमल्लहरू मल्ल राजवंशी हुन् भन्ने सिद्ध छ ।

अर्को कुरा नेपाल उपत्यकामा तलेजु ल्याउने हरिसिंहदेव हुन् भन्ने व्यापक कथन छ । त्यसबारे एउटा ऐतिहासिक टिपोट 'संस्कृत स देश' प्रथम वर्षको ५ अङ्कमा प्रकाशित छ । उक्त टिपोटमा हरिसिंहदेवले तलेजू लिएर आउँदा बाटोमा संकष्ट परी किसानलाई सुवाल भान्छे बनाई तलेजूलाई भुजा चढाएको कुरा उल्लेख गरेको छ । बाटोमा उक्त संकष्ट परेको कुरा गयासुद्दीन तुगलकको आक्रमणले भागेर आउँदा टिपाटनमा हरिसिंहदेवको मृत्यु भएको घटनाको संकेत हो । तुगलकको आक्रमणको संकेत अरू वंशावलीकारले पनि गरेका छन् । त्यसैले हो कि अद्यापि भक्तपुरमा तलेजूलाई भुजा पकाउने मान्छे सुवाल छन् ।

अयोध्याबाट सर्वप्रथम नान्यदेवले तलेजू ल्याए भन्ने वंशावलीकारहरूको भनाइ छ । तलेजू भवानीले राँगो भोगवली लिएका हुनाले तलेजूमा राँगो काट्ने चलन छ । तलेजूमा राँगो काट्ने एक थरी जाति खड्गी छन् । तो खड्गी जाति कसाहो नायर देशबाट साथ लागी आएका हुनसक्छन् । त्यसैले कसाहीलाई नेवारीमा नाय् भन्दछन् । हरिसिंहदेव सिमरौनगढबाट भागेर आउँदा साथ लागी आएका भारोको वंशज लेलेमा बसोबास गरी बसेका थिए । तो वंशजले शिवहरोश्वर स्थापना गरेको लेलेको शिलापत्र मोहनप्रसाद खनालको मध्यकालीन अभिलेखमा प्रकाशित छ ।

लिच्छविकालमा ब्राह्मणदेखि लिएर चाण्डालसम्मका १८ जात थिए । तिनमा ब्रह्मुङ सुल्मुङ तेपुल भन्ने जातको उल्लेख पाइएको छ । त्यसमा विस्तार विस्तार समाज थपिदै गएर मल्लकालमा समाजको विकास भयो र ४ वर्ण ३६ जात भए । तिनमा उत्तम काम गर्ने मारोहरूले श्रेष्ठ भन्ने पदवी पाएथे । पछि गएर श्रेष्ठ भन्ने एक थरी समाजै भयो । तो श्रेष्ठ समाजमा पनि विभिन्न कार्य विभाजन अनुसार ज्योतिषी काम गर्ने जोशी, आचार्यको काम गर्ने आचाजू, भण्डारको काम गर्ने भण्डोल आदि थर बने । सर्वप्रथम जातिको कानूनी कार्यविभाजन स्थितिमल्लले गरेका हुन् । पाटनका नरसिंहमारो तथा पुरन्दरसिंहले एवं भक्तपुरका सहस्रराम बाबुले, कान्तिपुर ह्लैकन्तलाका धनसिंबाबुले बनेपाका प्रेमबहादुरले आफूलाई राजवंशी भनी थर उल्लेख गरेको कुरा शिलापत्र तथा ताडपत्रमा पाइएको छ । तिनीहरू श्रेष्ठसमाजमा मिलेका छन् । कारण संस्कृति

एउटै छ। नेपालवासी जनतालाई नेवारीमा नेपामी भन्दछन् । नेपाको अपभ्रंश नेवा भएकी छ। नेवालाई नेपालीमा नेवार भन्ने गरेको छ । स्थानीय जनतालाई बुझाउन शब्दको अन्त्यमा मी लाग्ने परम्परा लिच्छवि-कालदेखि नै चलेको पाइएको छ । बाहिरका मानिससंग सम्बन्ध भए तापनि नेपाल उपत्यकाको संस्कृति आफ्नै-पनको छ । बाहिरबाट आएका जोसुकै मानिस किन नहुन् उक्त संस्कृति अपनाउने जाति नेवार भएका छन् । जस्तै शांतिकराचार्य बाहिरबाट आएका ब्राह्मण हुन् । तिनले बौद्ध धर्म अपनाएका हुनाले तिनी बज्राचार्य भएथे ।

लिच्छविहरू पनि मुजफरपुर जिल्लाबाट आएका हुन् भन्ने इतिहासबाट देखिन्छ । कर्णाटवंशी जगत-सिंहदेव तथा देवलदेवी तिरहुते सिमरौनगढबाट आएका हुन् भन्ने र स्थितिमल्ल बाहिरबाटै ल्याइएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा गोपालवंशावलीबाट स्पष्टै देखिएको छ । मल्ल-कालमा नेपाल उपत्यकामा आक्रमण गर्नेहरूमा पश्चिमी खसमल्ल तथा तिरहुते र मुसलमान समसुद्दीन पनि छन् । तर यहाँको संस्कृति अपनाई दीगो भई बस्ने को हुन् भन्ने कुरा विचार गर्नु आवश्यक छ । वंशावलीकारले वंशा-वली लेख्दा प्रसंग विगार्नु संभव छ । तर पुस्तावारी अशुद्ध भन्नु गाह्रो छ । स्थितिमल्लभन्दा अघि यस उपत्यकामा शासन गर्ने रुद्रमल्ल तथा अरिमल्ल थिए भन्ने पनि स्पष्टै छ । तिनका वंशजहरू कहाँकहाँ फैलिएका थिए भन्ने कुरामा ध्यान दिनु पनि आवश्यक छ।

(प्रमाणभाग)

(१)

(कर्णाटवंशी) मोतीसिंहदेव

शक्तिसिंहदेव

नान्यदेव	श्यामसिंहदेव
गांगदेव	
नृसिंहदेव	नरेन्द्रलक्ष्मी, नृपेन्द्रलक्ष्मी, मुनीन्द्रलक्ष्मी

शक्तिदेव

रामसिंहदेव

हरिसिंहदेव (देवलदेवी)

जगतसिंहदेव

राजल्लदेवी

"मल्लराजवंशी" जयभद्रमल्ल (नरेन्द्रलक्ष्मी)

नागमल्ल

जयजगतमल्ल

नागेन्द्रमल्ल

उग्रमल्ल

अशोकमल्ल

स्थितिमल्ल (राजल्लदेवी)

"जेठी नरेन्द्रलक्ष्मीलाई पितका पुर्खा नान्यदेवले नेपाल स्वाधीन गर्दा तिरहुत भगाएका नेपाली मल्ल राजा-का सन्तान जयभद्र नामक मल्ल क्षत्रियसंग विवाह गरि-दिएका थिए । आखिरसम्म पनि छोरा नहुँदा तिनै

जयभद्रमल्ललाई राज्याभिषेक दिई आफू वागमती आर्यातीर्थमा प्राण त्याग गरेर परलोक भए।"

(प्राचीन नेपाल १६ अङ्क १७ पृष्ठ)

(२)

"पश्चात् खशिया ववः ॥ राजा जयतारि प्रथम प्रविष्टः सम्वच्छर चारिसय आठ पोष मासे ॥ साह्यगुस्थाने खशिया अवुठसय पातयित्वा राष्ट्र सर्वबने सेवितं खशिया तेन पलायितं लोक स्वस्थेन स्वस्थानस्थितं ॥ तस्य सम्बच्छर प्रवर्तते फाल्गुनमास शुक्ल त्रयोदशी । पुनर्द्वितीय जयतारि प्रविष्टः । ग्रामादि अग्निदाहं करोति ॥ स्यंगुचैत प्रसयति । वुग्मलोकेश्वर द्रशनं श्रीपशुपतिप्रसनं । स्वस्थेन स्वराष्ट्रगमनं मवति सम्वच्छर चारिसय नव ॥ पुन तिरहुतिया प्रविष्टः ॥ सम्वच्छर चारिसय एकारह माघमासे ॥" (गोपालवंशावली)

[पश्चिमबाट खशिया आए । ने.सं ४०८ (वि.सं. १३४४) पौषमा जयतारि पहिलो पटक पसे । सिम्भूमा आठशय खशियालाई सिद्धचाइ सारा राष्ट्र वन पसे । त्यसकारण खशिया भागे । दुनियां आनन्दसंग आफ्नो आफ्नो ठाउँमा बसे । यही संवत् चलेको वेला फागुनशुक्ल त्रयोदशीमा फेरि दोस्रो पटक जयतारि पसे । गाउँहरूमा आगो लाइदिए । सिम्भूको चैत्यमा गए । वुङ्मती लोकेश्वरको दर्शन गरे । पशुपतिलाई खुशी पारे । ने.सं. ४०९ (वि.सं. १३४५) मा आनन्दसंग आफ्नो देश फर्के । फेरि ने.सं. ४११ (वि.सं. १३४६) माघमा तिरहुते आए।]

(३)

"सं. ४४१ फागुणकृष्ण नवमी श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवस प्रथम पुत्र श्री जयवीरमलदेवस जात ॥ सं. ४४२ पोष्यवदि १४ अस्तदिन ॥

सं. ४४३ माघकृष्णद्वितीया श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवस द्वितीय पुत्र श्रीत्रिभुवनमल्लदेव जात गण्डान्तवेरस ॥ सं. ४४४ अशुनिवदि १४ अस्तदिवस"

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने०सं० ४४१ (वि०सं० १३७७) फाल्गुनकृष्ण नवमीमा श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवका पहिलो छोरा श्रीजयवीरमल्लको जन्म भयो । ने०सं० ४४२ (वि०सं० १३७८) पौषकृष्ण १४ मा मृत्यु भयो ।

ने०सं० ४४३ (वि०सं० १३७९) माघकृष्ण द्वितीया गण्डान्तवेलामा श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवका दोस्रा छोरा श्री त्रिभुवनमल्लदेवको जन्म भयो । ने०सं० ४४४ (वि०सं० १३८१) आश्विनकृष्ण १४ मा मृत्यु भयो।]

(४)

सं. ४४६ माघशुदि ३ तिरहुति हरसिंह राजासन मिथ्लासनतो सत्रगहीटो ढीलीस तुरक याके वङ्ग रायत मोनारपं थमु अगुमन याङ्गस्यं शिमरावनगढ भङ्ग याङ तिरहुतिया राजा महाथ आदिन समस्तव डङ्ग व्यसन वंग्वटोंग्वलछिनों लिदुंविर वव ग्वलछिनो राजगाम द्वलखाधारे वंग्व ॥ टिपाटस राजा हरसिंहतो शिक्ष ग्ववा कायनो महाथनो उभयवंधि याङा कूलन ज्वोङाव हंग्व राजगामया मछी भारा धायान समस्त धन कासन ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने०सं० ४४६ (वि०सं० १३८२) माघशुक्ल ३ मा तिरहुते राजा हरिसिंहदेवले दिल्लीका तुगलकलाई मिथिलामा रोक्न भारदार सेना जम्मा गरी अघि सर्दा 'तुगलकले' सिमरौनगढ ध्वस्त पारे । तिरहुतका राजा आफ्ना भारदार र परिवार सहित वनतिर पसे । परिवार सहित राजग्राम हुँदै दोलखामा जान लाग्दा टिपाटन भन्ने ठाउँमा हरिसिंहदेवको मृत्यु भयो । राजग्रामका मछीभारोहरूले उनका छोरा र भारदारलाई कैद गरी सबै सम्पत्ति जफत गरे ।]

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तुरकैदूँरिकृत सपरिवार तिरहुत राजा मन्त्रिभिः सहारण्यं प्रविष्टः । पुत्रेण सहिता पत्नी देवलक्ष्मीदेवी च स्वकुटुम्वैः सह वलं याचितुं नेपाले प्रविशति ॥

[दोलखाको टिपोट पत्र
प्राचीन नेपाल १३ अङ्क ४६ पृष्ठ]

[तुगलकले लखेटिएका परिवार सहितका तिरहुते राजा हरिसिंहदेव मन्त्रीसहित जङ्गल पसे । छोरा तथा पत्नी देवलदमी र आफ्ना कुटुम्बहरू सहित भई सहायता मागन नेपाल पसे ।]

(५ ख)

सं० ४४६ प्रथमाषाढ पूर्णामी श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेव अस्त ।। भोग राज वर्ष ३० मा ८ ॥ सम्बत्सरा षडयुगवेदा ४४६ आषाढी पूर्णामी रात्रिभागे दारा चतु अग्निप्रवेशकृतं ॥ तस्य सूनु जायमाने कतिपय दिवसान्तरे मृत्यु ॥ पुत्री सती नायकदेवी नाम पितामही श्रीपदुमलदेवीना प्रतिपालितं ॥ श्रीदेवलदेवी द्वयोपि ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने०सं० ४४६ (वि०सं० १३८३) आषाढ पूर्णिमाको दिन श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवको स्वर्गारोहण भयो । भोग ३० वर्ष ८ महीना । संवत् ४४६ आषाढ पूर्णिमाको राति ४ जना रानी सती गए । तिनका छोरा जन्मेर केही दिनमै मरेका थिए । पुत्री सती नायकदेवी चाहि बज्यै श्रीपदुमलदेवीले श्रीदेवलदेवी समेत दुवैको प्रतिपाल हेरविचार गरिन् ।]

(५ ग)

तदनंतरे श्रीजयतुङ्गमल्ल देवस्य आत्मजः श्री जयरुद्रमल्लदेवस्य प्रभुत्वेन स्वकुटुम्बज श्रीजयारिमल्ल देवस्य पुष्पाभिषेकं कृत्य राजा भुक्तिमात्रं ददौ समस्त नेपाल श्रीजयरुद्रमल्ल इव नवकोट भुङ्क्तीप्रजन्त राज कृतम् ।

(गोपालवंशावली)

[तिनताक श्रीजयतुङ्गमल्लदेवका छोरा श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवको प्रभुत्वमा आफ्ना नातेदार श्रीजयअरिमल्ललाई राज्याभिषेक गरी राजा सम्म बनाइदिए । तर सम्पूर्ण नेपाल नुवाकोटसम्म श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लले नै राज्य गरे ।]

(६)

सं० ४४८ फाल्गुणशुक्लसप्तमी खसिया राजा आदीतमलया कटकनं वस्यं नवक्वाठ कास्यं ङाह्नुलिवलि शाखरक्वाठ कासन लिन्दुम्बिक्व स्वन्देश मेचोसन यहुं पुल वहीरिस थाकन याङपुङादिन २२ मचाल्व ॥ तत्रान्तरे आदीतमल नेपाल प्रविष्ट सम्बत् ४४८ चैत्रपूर्णामो ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने०सं० ४४८ (वि०सं० १३८४) फागुनशुक्लसप्तमीको दिन खशिया राजा आदितमल्लले आक्रमण गरी नुवाकोट लिए । ५ दिनपछि शाखरक्वाठ लिए । अनि सं. ४४८ चैत्र पूर्णिमाको दिन नेपाल प्रवेश गरी तीनै शहरमा आगो लाइदिए । पाटनको पुलविहार २२ दिनसम्म बन्द भयो ।]

(७)

सं० ४५० पोचवद्धि १३ युथुनिमंस ठाकुर मदो निमितिन कोवने गाहरपंहा कुमरटोनेह्म दुन्ता चनिगल ॥ श्रीहरिश्चन्द्रदेवस गोपालदेवस विवाह कामादेविस ॥ अत्रान्तरे काशेश्वरवंशज श्रीहरिचन्द्रदेव समानयेन विवाह करोति श्रीनायकदेवी ॥

सं० ४५० चेत्रकृष्ण एकादशी मछिम्वहारक्वाठ अभेराम मुलमीस्यं कूलन कायाभ्वन्तया लिस ॥

सं० ४५२ मार्गशिर शुदि १२ चंदनएश्वरनं राजगां काया दिन ॥

सं० ४५२ आश्विनशुद्धि २ श्री श्री पदुमलदेवीस अस्त ॥ भोगवर्ष ६७ मा २ ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने०सं० ४५० (वि०सं० १३८६) पौषकृष्ण १३ दुवै राजकुलमा हकदार ठाकुर नहुनाले दक्षिणतिरबाट दुइजना राजकुमार झिकाई चनिगलमा राखे । अनि काशेश्वरवशी हरिश्चन्द्रदेवसंग नायकदेवीको र गोपालदेवसंग कामादेवीको विवाह गरिदिए ।

ने०सं० ४५० (वि०सं० १३८६) चैत्रकृष्ण एकादशीको दिन अभयराममुल्मीले मछिमवहारक्वाठ दखल गरे ।

ने०सं० ४५२ (वि०सं० १३८८) मार्गशुक्ल १२ मा चण्डेश्वरले राजग्राम लिए ।

ने०सं० ४५२ (वि०सं० १३८९) आश्विनशुक्ल २ मा श्रीपद्मलदेवीको स्वर्गारोहण भयो । भोग ६७ वर्ष २ महीना ।]

(८)

सं० ४५५ ज्येष्ठशुद्धि द्वि श्रीहरिचन्द्रदेवस बलन मृत्यु दिन ॥ कतिप वर्षान्तरेण शिष्टेन विषमत्वयतेन मृत्यु तदनन्तरे तस्य देवस्य भ्रात श्रीगोपालदेवमुपस्थितं ॥

कर्णाटवंशज श्रीजगतसिंहदेव समाहित संगृह्यकृत्य कृत नायकदेवी ॥

तत दृष्टान्तरेण स गोपालदेव श्रीभक्तापुरी त्यक्त्वा ललितापुरी गम्यता, तदनन्तरे लोकानां भयादितं स्वराजगमिष्यसि तेन भयादितेन लोके मन्त्रपातनं कृता ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

[केही वर्षवाद ने०सं० ४५५ (वि०सं० १३९२) जेष्ठशुक्ल २ मा विषप्रयोगद्वारा श्रीहरिश्चन्द्रदेवको अकालमृत्यु भयो । त्यसपछि तिनका भाइ गोपालदेव उपस्थित भए । कर्णाटवंशी श्रीजगतसिंहदेवलाई नायकदेवी पारिसकेको देखेर गोपालदेव भक्तपुर छाडी ललितपुरमा भागे । लोकको भयले आपनो राज्यमा ज्ञान नसकेकोले लोकमा षड्यन्त्र भयो ।]

(९ क)

सं० ४५७ ज्येष्ठकृष्ण अमावस्याको कोहु तिरहुतिया जगतसिंहकुमरस मनिगलस दुन्ताटों संती गोपालचन्द कुमरटों पिलुया थ्व च्यस्तयाक्व अभराम मुलमीस थथितभास उभे ॥

विहारकोटस्थित जोगराममुलमी जोगविहारपात्र एकीभूतेन शंखादो कोट प्रविसति ततो प्रवेशान्त द्वितीयरात्रे जोगरामेन श्रीगोपालदेव त्यक्ता पलायं गता ॥

संतीवुगलितं यातयाङ तवतवमी समस्त वंग लसासन मनिगलस दुन्तं गोपालचन्दकुमरस वय विसनय पिस लवटों ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

ने०सं० ४५७ (वि०सं० १३९४) ज्येष्ठकृष्ण अमावास्याको दिन तिरहुते जगतसिंह कुमर मनिगलमा पसी भोलिपल्ट अभयराममुलमी र थथितभाद्वारा गोपालचन्द्रकुमरलाई बाहिर घिसारी वेसरी चुटे ।

विहारकोटमा रहेका जोगराममुलमी र जोगविहारका पात्र मिलेर शंखकोटमा राखेका थिए । तिनीहरू पसेपछि दोस्रो रातमा जोगराम गोपालदेवलाई छोडी भागे ।

भोलिपल्ट मनिगलमा लछारपछार गरी ठूला ठूला मानिसले सास्तीगर्दा उ स्वयं बाहिर आई भागे ।]

(९ ख)

सं० ४६० पोष्यवदि ८ भोंत कस्तभाटों पीलिहा तिपुरन दुन्तन्ता गुन्हुलिव टोंखा राजा ल्हायाटो खुन्हुलिव जोग्राममुलमीस श्रीगोपालचन्ददेवस बंङ टोखा कूलन काथा सन्तो तिपुर हाथारबंङ लिकाया दुन्दङचोङ स्मस्त लाङा अकल्हप ह्यं २८ श्रीगोपालदेव म्वण्डसङा जोग्राममुलमी टो ज्वङहा ॥

पश्चात् कोटा गृहभृत्य मेकाकी स्थित ॥ श्रीजगतसिंह कुह्मरस्य परिजनेन शिरच्छेत्वा श्रीगोपालदेव मृत्युः ॥ (गोपालवंशावली)

ने०सं० ४६० (वि०सं० १३९६) पौषकृष्ण ८ मा मोन्तहरू तिपुरमा पसी ९ दिनपछि राजालाई कुरा लाइदिए । ६ दिनपछि जोगराममुलमीद्वारा गोपालचन्द्रदेवको सब कुरा बुझी भोलिपल्ट तिपुरले भित्रबसेका सबैलाई भेट्टाई आक्रमण गर्दा २० जना हताहत भए । गोपालदेवलाई कत्ताल गरे जोगराम मुलमीलाई पक्रे ।]

बसरी कोटमा एकलै परेका गोपालदेवलाई निकाली

जगतसिंहका परिजनले शिर कत्तल गरी मारिदिए ।

(१० क)

सं ४६४ आश्विन शुदि.....भूकम्प वव ॥ थव सन्ती ग्वलस श्रीजयारिमल्लदेव अस्त । सं० ४३७ फाल्गुण-कृष्ण दशमी धनेष्ठ वृहस्पतिवार श्रीजयानन्ददेव राजासपुत्र श्रीजयराजदेव संग्रहनीभार्यासि पलाखचौस जात । तदनन्तरे कतिपय दिवसे श्रीजगतसिंह कुमरेण राज भुंजितं ॥ पश्चात् कुह्मरवंधनं भवेत् ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

अत्रान्तरे कर्णाटवंशिज श्रीजगतसिंहदेव समाहित संगृह्यपुत्री श्रीराजल्लदेवी नाम । दशदिनान्ते माता स्वर्ग-गम ···· पितामह्या अतिकष्टेन प्रतिपालिता श्रीदेवलदेवी नाम कु ···· प्रतिपालिता जीविता च ॥

[केशरवंशावली, प्राचीननेपाल १३ अङ्क ४६ पृष्ठ]

[ने० सं० ४६४ (वि०सं० १४०१) आश्विनशुक्ल··· भूकम्प गयो । त्यसको भोलिपल्ट देउपाटनमा श्रीजय अरिमल्लको देहावसान भयो । ने०सं० ४३७ (वि०सं० १३७४) फागुनकृष्ण दशमी धनिष्ठानक्षत्र वृहस्पतिवारमा पलाञ्चीकमा श्रीजयानन्ददेवका मठयाहा पत्नीबाट श्री-जयराजदेव छोरा जन्मे ।

त्यसको केही दिनपछि जगतसिंहकुमरले राज्य-भोग गरे । पछि कुमर पनि कैद भए ।

यसै बखत कर्णाटवंशी श्रीजगतसिंहदेवकी मठयाहा छोरी राजल्लदेवीको जन्म भयो । १० दिन-पछि आमाको मृत्यु भयो । वज्यै देवलदेवीले अति कष्टपूर्वक पाली हुर्काइन ।]

(१० ख)

सं० ४६७ पोष्यकृष्ण दशमी अनुराध श्री नायक-देवीसपुत्री राजलदेवीस जात दिन १० दिनलिव माम नायकदेवीस अस्त ॥

उभयकुलसानुमतेन सं० ४६७ श्रावनवदि ४ श्रीजयानन्ददेवस्य राजा कृत्य सर्वसम्मतेन ॥

सं० ४६७ वैशाखशुदि ७॥ श्रीजयराजदेवस्य पत्नी श्रीरुद्रमदेवीस तस्य पुत्र श्री जयार्जुनदेवः जातः ॥

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने.सं. ४६७ (वि.सं. १४०३) पौषकृष्ण दशमी अनुराधानक्षत्रमा नायकदेवीबाट पुत्री राजल्लदेवी जन्मी १० दिनमा आमा नायकदेवीको मृत्यु भयो ।

ने.सं. ४६७ (वि.सं. १४०४) श्रावणवदि ४ मा दुवै राजकुलको सम्मतिले सबैले राजदेवलाई राजा बनाए ।

ने.सं. ४६७ (वि.सं. १४०४) वैशाखशुक्ल ७ मा श्रीजयराजदेवकी पत्नी श्रीरुद्रमदेवीबाट तिनका छोरा श्रीजयार्जुनदेवको जन्म भएको थियो ।]

(१० ग)

सं. ४७० मार्गशिरशुदि ६ समसदिन सुरतान लिवस्य समस्त डाहरपा दिन ७ माक्व ॥

[गोपालवंशावली]

सं. ४७४ अश्विनिशुद्धि ६ श्रीजयस्थितिराजमल्ल देवस कोवन विज्याङा स्वपों दुम्विज्या त्यंखोचोन डालालिव विवाह जुव ॥ [गोपालवंशावली]

सं. ४८१ वैशाखकृष्ण १२ रेवतीनक्षत्रे आदित्य-वासरेराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेवस्य विजयराज्ये पुण्य-मतीनगराधिवासिन तेजोनन्दनाथस्यार्थे लिखितेदं पुस्त-कम् । (राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालय नं ३५४ सुग्रीवशास्त्र)

[ने.सं. ४७० (वि.सं. १४०६) मार्गशुक्ल ६ मा सुल्तान समसुद्दीनले आक्रमण गरी ७ दिनसम्म सम्पूर्ण आगो लाइदियो ।

ने.सं. ४७४ (वि.सं. १४११) आश्विनशुक्ल ६ मा

श्री जयस्थितिराजमल्लदेवलाई दक्षिणतिरबाट भिकाई भक्तपुर भित्र्याएर त्यंखोमा राखे । ५ महीनापछि विवाह भयो ।

ने.सं. ४८१ (वि.सं. १४१८) वैशाखकृष्ण १२ रेवतीनक्षत्र आदित्यवारमा राजाधिराज श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेवको विजयराज्यमा पुण्यमतीनगरमा वस्ने तेजोनन्दनाथको लागि यो पुस्तक लेखियो ।]

(११)

ॐनमः शिवाय ।। सम्वत् ···· माघशुक्ल त्रयोदशी प्र चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ श्रवणनक्षत्र व्यतिपातयोगे वृहस्पतिवासरे श्रीश्रीराजल्लदेव्या विजये ।

अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वरमा रहेको अभिलेख

[मोहनप्रसाद खनालको मध्यकालीन अभिलेख १४ पृ.]

सं. ४८६ वैशाषशुदि ७ श्रीदेवलदेवी महादेवीस अस्त ।। भोगवर्ष ६६ मास ८ ।।

[गोपालवंशावली]

[ॐ शिवलाई नमस्कार । सम्वत् ·····माघशुक्ल त्रयोदशी उप्रान्त चतुर्दशी श्रवणनक्षत्र व्यतीपात योग वृहस्पतिवारमा श्रीश्रीराजल्लदेवीको विजय राज्यमा ।

ने.सं ४८६ [वि.सं. १४२३] वैशाखशुक्ल ७ मा श्रीदेवलदेवीमहारानीको देहावसान भयो । भोग ६६ वर्ष ८ महीना ।]

[१२]

सं. ४९० माघशुदि ५ संको गह्र चाल्व समस्त लुह्रियाङ मेचोया उभयराजास विज्याङा ।।···

सं. ४९२ वैशाषवद्धि अमावास्या कोन्हु चा चह्रखुनि थामछे वेयेटाङासयाव ज्वङाव अठकस वएटास रिवह्रकं ढिङताटो जयसिंहराम महाथटोंथ्य सम्वच्छलवु दीतलाथो व नवमीकोन्हु यहुं प्रजा आदिन हाथार थ्यमिस जारवा थे श्रीश्रीजयस्थितिराजमल्लदेवसन थमु अगुमन याङ पिंपाल फुङा ओ शिक्व प्रधान नामधारी पात्रादिन ह्म ५३

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने०सं० ४९० (वि०सं० १४२६) माघशुक्ल ५ मा दुवै राजा जयार्जुनदेव र जयस्थितिमल्ल जानुभई सांखुकिल्लामा आगो लगाई ··सो किल्ला कब्जा गनु भयो ।

ने०सं० ४९२ (वि०सं० १४२९) वैशाखकृष्ण अमावास्याको दिन राति चह्रखुनि (लुंभु शहरबाट आधाकोश पर चरखण्डी) थामछेबाट ····समातेर ल्याई अटकसवएटा भन्ने ठाउँमा महामन्त्री श्रीजयसिंहरामलाई नेल ठोके यसै सालको आषाढशुक्ल नवमीका दिन पाटनका प्रजा आदि ठिमीमा लड्न आए । यस वेला श्रीश्रीजयस्थितिमल्लदेव स्वयं अघिसरी लड्न गए । लड्न आउनेहरूमा प्रधानपात्र आदि ५३ जना मरे ।]

(१३)

सं० ५०१ मार्गशिरकृष्ण द्वादशी स्वाति सोभन शुक्रवारकोन्हु श्रीजयस्थितिराजमलदेव ठाकुरस जयत महाथ मास प्रमुखन लिछि समस्तन श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेवराजास थव राज विनाप्याक्वाठ महाजात्रा याङ दुम्विज्याचका दिन थ्वन निथनेह्रु लिव चा वस्यं वया गोकर्णविवाठस विज्याङा जुरोम् । थ्वनन्नङम् ···· महासन्तापन थ्वप्वम् वयाजुरोम् ।

(गोपालवंशावली)

श्रीराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीजयस्थितिराजमल्लदेवस्य विजयराज्ये लिखितं पुस्तकं । तस्मिन् समये अपरराज्यस्थराजा श्रीश्रीजयार्जुन नाम राजा त्रिपुरराज सचिवेन प्रवाहितेन महासंकटेन प्रविशति ।

(वी. पु नं. ११७९ दशकर्म)

सं. ५०२ माघवदि ५ थ्वन्त श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेव रायस अस्तदिवस ठाय त्रिपुरस क्वाछेस ··

(गोपालवंशावली)

[ने.सं. ५०१ (वि.सं. १४३७) मार्गकृष्ण द्वादशी स्वातीनक्षत्र शोभनयोग शुक्रवारका दिन श्रीजयस्थिति राजमल्लदेव ठाकुरको तथा महामंत्री जयत आदि ठूल-ठूला भारदारको सम्मतिले राजा श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेवलाई आफ्नो राज्य बनेपा क्वाठमा जात्रा गरी धपाइदियो। यसको २२ दिनपछि राति भागेर आई गोकर्णक्वाठमा आउनु भयो। यसपछि ···· ठूलो दुःखले भक्तपुरमा पस्नु भयो।

श्रीराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीजयस्थितिराजमल्लदेवको विजयराज्यमा यो पुस्तक लेखियो। त्यसबेला अर्को राज्यका राजा श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेव त्रिपुरका राजमंत्रीले संगै ठूलो संकष्टमा पर्नु भयो।

ने०सं० ५०२ (वि०सं० १४३८) माघकृष्ण ५ मा तिपुरक्वाछेंमा बनेपाली श्रीजयार्जुनदेव रायको मृत्यु भयो।]

(१४)

ॐ नमः॥ श्री हलसिंहदेवन श्रीतलेजु जोडाव विज्याक वेलस लांस संकष्ट जुयाव सूपकार किसानिया लाहातन जा थुयका भोप्युधक श्रीतलेजुनआज्ञा दत। थवनली सम्वत् ५८७ श्री ३ यक्षमल्लया पर्जास जुतोले ब्राह्मण सुवालया त्यंतव जुलो॥ श्रीगंगादेवियां काय श्रीत्रिभुवनमल्ल त्रैलोक्यमल्लया पर्जास श्रीधरनिधर गौडभट्ट प्रभृति मैथिल समस्त पण्डित समुच्चयन थव खं गथे जुरा धकं सुवालया लाहातन हलसिंहदेवन भोपओखें धकं डेडे तया दव थवया वचन गुगु तंत्रस दुला सोओधकं धाल पुन तन्त्रस श्लोक सोयाओ लुयकाओ थव वचन दव छु संदेह मदु सत्यनं त्रिदशडामल तंत्रस लुला श्रीजगन्नाथ ओ श्रीतलेजुओ उति छुं भिन्न मदु।

(ऐतिहासिक टिपोट, संस्कृतसन्देश ५ अङ्क ४१ पृ.)

[ॐ नमस्कार। श्री हरिसिंहदेवले तलेजु लिएर आउनु भएको बेलामा बाटोमा संकष्ट परी भान्छे महर्जन किसानको हातबाट भात पकाउन लगाई खाऊ भनी श्रीतलेजूबाट आज्ञा भयो। त्यसपछि ने.सं. ५८७ (वि.सं. १५२४) मा श्री ३ यक्षमल्लको पालामा भा छे ब्राह्मण सुवाल गराइ राखियो। श्रीगंगादेवीको छोरा श्रीत्रिभुवनमल्ल र त्रैलोक्यमल्लको पालामा श्रीधरणिधर गौड भट्टप्रभृति मैथिल पण्डितहरू समेतले यो कुरा कसरी भयो भनी सुवालको हातबाट हरिसिंहदेवले भात खाएको सुनिएको बारे छलफल हुंदा तन्त्रमा छ कि हेर भने। फेरितन्त्रमा हेर्दा फेला पारी यो वचन रहेछ केही सन्देह छैन साँचैनै त्रिदशडामरतन्त्रमा भेट्टियो श्रीजगन्नाथ र तलेजुमा केही फरक छैन भनी निर्णय गरे।]

(१५)

सम्वत् ७८९ वैशाखकृष्ण प्रतिपदा अनुराधा नक्षत्र शिवयोगे वृहस्पतिवासरे श्वकुन्हु श्री ३ शिवहरीश्वर लिङ्ग प्रतिष्ठामण्डप दयकं याङादिन जुरो। श्वदयकोह्म सिम्राहलन श्रीश्रीजयहरिसिंहदेवराजाव नार्प वकेह्मया वंशस शकताज॥ थवया पुत्र मयाभारो श्वया काय वसू श्वया काय उल्हास श्वया काय विष्णुराम श्वया काय विश्वनाथ श्वया काय शिवहरि श्वह्मन दयका श्वया काय शिवशङ्कर श्वया काय रूपनारायण पुरुष पेह्म विद्यमान जुरो श्रीमाणिग्लाधिपति श्रीश्रीजयश्रीनिवासमल्लदेव प्रभुठाकुरस विजयराज्ये लेलेदेशया मनसिल थानस थव मण्डपदेव प्रतिस्था याङन सिद्धयका जुरो॥

[मोहनप्रसाद खनालको मध्यकालीन अभिलेख ४९-५० पृ.]

[ने०सं० ७८९ (वि.सं.१७२६) वैशाखकृष्णप्रतिपदा अनुराधनक्षत्र शिवयोग वृहस्पतिवारको दिन श्री ३ शिवहरीश्वरलिङ्ग प्रतिष्ठा गरी मण्डप बनाइयो। यो बनाउने सिम्रौनगढका श्रीश्रीजयहरिसिंहदेव राजाको साथ लागी आएकाको वंशमा शकराज भए। इनका छोरा विष्णुराम, इनका छोरा विश्वनाथ, इनका छोरा शिवहरि यति भएपछि इनका छोरा शिवशङ्कर, इनका छोरा रूपनारायण पुरुष ४ जना विद्यमान भए। श्रीमाणिग्लाधिपति श्रीश्रीजयश्रीनिवास मल्लदेव प्रभुठाकुरको विजयराज्यमा लेलेदेशको मनसिलस्थानमा यो मण्डप देवप्रतिष्ठा गरी सिद्धयाइयो।]

(१६)

अधिकिराति राजाहरूका पालामा पटना शहरका राजा तीर्थ जात्रा गर्न आयाका अशोक राजासंग आयाका देवपाल नामक राजवंशी चत्रीले आफू वसनाकन सानुसानु देवपत्तन गाउँ वसाइ गया ।

(वी.पु.च.नं. १०१० को वंशावली २६ पृ.)

श्वति भाषा युवराज श्रीश्रीजोगनरसिंहसाक्षी तथा व भगीरथ भयोयाव साहुतिन तथा जुरो वुराज्यास चितायाक श्री श्री राजवंश नरसिंह भा शुभ ॥

[ल.पु. मछिन्द्रनाथमन्दिरको सं. ७६३ को श्रीनिवासमल्लको शिलालेख]

"यति व्यहोरा युवराज श्री श्री जोगनरसिंहलाई साक्षी राखो भगीरथ भैयाको अनुमति बमोजिम राखियो । यस कामको हेरचाह गर्ने श्रीश्रीराजवंशी नरसिंह भारो शुभ ॥"

पुरन्दर राजवंशीले ने०सं० ६८५ सन् १५६६ मा पाटनको नारायणमन्दिर बनाएर यी पुरन्दर यक्षमल्लका जुवाइं जयसिंहका सन्तान हुन् ।

[रामजी उपाध्यायको नेपालको इतिहास १४१ पृ.]

(१७)

मांडव्यगोत्र माध्यंदिनी शाखा त्रिप्रवर हनूमद्ध्वज श्रीनागमल्लराजाया कुलस उत्पन्न जुवह्म श्री नेपाल सम्वत् ७७८ सालस श्री ३ नरेशमल्ल राजाव श्री ३ जगत्प्रकाशमल्ल राजाया मूलमंत्रि जुयाव श्री ३ जगन्नाथया प्रसाद लाकह्म श्रीसहस्रराम वावु अस्य स्त्री शुभथकुं सत्यवती २ ··श्रीसम्वत् १६३२ शुभकृन्नामाद्वे उत्तरायणेग्रीष्मर्तौ ज्येष्ठशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां विशाखा परतो नुराधानक्षत्रे सिद्धियोगे तंतिलकरणे श्वेतमुहूर्त्तके बुधवासरे तस्मिंसहापर्वदिने षोप्वदेश याछेंटोल पापननीया राजवंशी सचिव श्रीसश्रामया संतान कान्तिपुर तंलाछिटोल षावहालस चोनह्म श्रीमहन्तरामन देवमन्दिर प्रतिष्ठा याङा जुरो ।

[विष्णुमती इन्द्रायणीस्थानको अभिलेख]

[माण्डव्य गोत्र माध्यंदिनी शाखाको तीन प्रवर भएका हनूमद्ध्वजपदले युक्त भएका श्रीनागमल्लराजाको कुलमा जन्मेका ने०सं० ७७८ (वि.सं. १७१५) मा श्री ३ नरेशमल्ल राजा र श्री ३ जगत्प्रकाशमल्लराजाका मूल मन्त्री भएका श्री ३ जगन्नाथको प्रसाद निगाह पाएका श्रीसहस्ररामबावु थिए । तिनकी स्त्री शुभथकुं र सत्यवती दुइजना थिए··· वि.सं. १६३२ शुभकृत् संवत्सरमा उत्तरायणमा ग्रीष्मऋतुमा ज्येष्ठशुक्ल त्रयोदशी तिथि विशाखा उप्रान्त अनुराधा नक्षत्र सिद्धियोग तैतिल करण श्वेतमुहूर्त परेको वेलामा बुधवारना यस महापर्वको दिनमा भादगाउँको याछेटोलमा पापननी भन्ने ठाउँको राजवंशी मन्त्री श्रीसहस्ररामका सन्तान कान्तिपुरको तंलाछी टोल खावहालवस्ने श्रीमहन्तरामले देवमन्दिर प्रतिष्ठा गरे ।]

(१८)

[सं·····मासे कृष्णपक्ष ॥ द्वितीयान्तिथौ ॥ श्रीमत्कान्तिपुरमहानगरे ॥ श्रीयम्बू सुवर्णपनारिमहास्थाने ॥ न्हस्कनतारतोरके राछेयंताछे राजवंशी धनसिंह वावुया नाम्नेन शुक्रीयं शुभुज्यमानिकं ॥ श्रीयम्बू व्रुमायां श्री गांगुलंग नाम्नासकासात ॥ असनवाहार यंतादु थुगृहनामसंगेक ॥ सूकरमार्गस्य पश्चिमतः ग्राहकया गृहेन उत्तरतः जयसिंदेवया गृहेन उत्तरतः जयधनया गृहेन वायव्यं अडन पूर्वतः जयधनया गृहेन धारनया गृहेन द—··· खा छि १ चु १ कु १४ पातार चु ३ कु २ अतपा खा यंथ धारनं र धने मार ॥ तत गृहस्य जथा देशकार पत्तर्तमान संचारोघेन शुवर्णमूरमादाय श्वादिनानवतुकं न्यायेन क्रीविक्रीयत भवति तत्र धारनकस्य निमीत्तेन जदि संकत व्यावाद पी परिश्वधनियं··· ॥ प्रतिप्लभणपुरेसंहडा ॥···शाक्षि पीता राजवंशी वंशिश्रवावु थापीत जयकृष्ण । (तमसुकताडपत्र)

['सं.·····महीना कृष्णपक्ष द्वितीयामा श्रीकान्तिपुर श्रीयम्बु सुवर्णप्रणाली महास्थानमा न्हेकन्तलाटोल राछेयताछेका राजवंशी धनसिंह वावुको नामले आफनो भोगको श्रीयवु गांगुलंगका····नामबाट असनवहाल यंता दथुनामको घर मूलमार्गदेखि पश्चिम ग्राहकको घरदेखि उत्तर जयसिंदेवको घरदेखि उत्तर जयधनको घरको आधा गारोदेखि पूव जयधनको घर र धारनको घरदेखि

दक्षिणको खा १ चु १ कु १४ पाताल चु ३ कु २ पक्की ईटले बनेको त्यस घरको देशकाल अनुसार चलेको मूल्य लिई आफ्नो खुशीराजीले शुक्रीविक्री भयो । त्यसमा कुनै कारणवश संकट विवाद परेमा धारनकले व्यहोर्नु पछ भनी यो पत्र व्यहारा गरियो । साथी पिता राजवंशी वंशीधर बाबु थापित जयकृष्ण"

(१९)

८१ क्षत्रिय राजवंशी ठाकुर···इति श्री नेपाल जातिका मालिका भूपति जयस्थितिमल्लेन प्रभुणा धर्मशास्त्रादनुद्धृता शिलाक्षरेण मया शुभम्···

[श्रीहरिराम जोशीको सम्पादनमा प्रकाशित रोलम्ब नाम पत्रिका]

"(८१) क्षत्रिय राजवंशी ठाकुर···यति श्रीनेपालका जातिमाला राजाजयस्थितिमल्ल प्रभुले धर्मशास्त्रबाट उतार्नु भयो । शिलाक्षरले मैले लेखियो शुभम्···॥

शिक्षाग्रणी ख. श्री प्रेमबहादुर राजवंशी वि०सं० १९५९-२०२४

[धुलिखेल हाइस्कूलमा रहेको सालिकको अभिलेख]

(२०)

राजवंशी भन्नाले तराइको राजवंशी जातिमा ध्यान जानु स्वाभाविक छ । कारण ती जातिको आबाद पूर्व तराइमा छ । त्यसैले त्यसबारेमा स्पष्टीकरण गर्नुपर्ने हुनाले इतिहासको आधारबाट स्पष्टीकरण गरिन्छ । कोच राज्यको वंशावलीबाट ज्ञात भए अनुसार ग्वालपाडा जिल्ला खुटाघाटको चिकन नामक गाउंमा हरियामण्डल नामका मेचे थिए । तिनका वंशजलाई धिमाल जाति मानेका छन् । हरियामण्डल नामक मेचेले कोचराज्यका सामन्तकी छोरीसग वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध बाँधेका हुनाले तिनका वंशजले पनि हिन्दू धर्ममा दीक्षित भई आफूलाई राजवंशी भनी प्रख्यात गर्दा तिनीहरू मेचे राजवंशी बनेका थिए । ती मेचे राजवंशीको एक शाखा मोरङमा पसेका थिए । तिनीहरूलाई मोरङ्गिया भन्दछन् । पछि ती राजवंशीहरूले इस्लाम धर्म अपनाएका हुनाले तिनीहरूको जाति ने खोचेमेचे राजवंशी भएको थियो । जङ्गबहादुर तराइमा पसेको वेलामा एक जना खोचेमेचे राजवंशीकी नवयुवती छोरीलाई तिनले रखौटी पत्नी बनाएका थिए । आफू सत्तामा आएपछि जङ्गबहादुरले ती खोचेमेचे राजवंशीको पानी चलाइदिए भन्ने कुरा इतिहासमा उल्लेख छ।

[वि०सं० २०२१ चैत्र १४ गतेको गो०प०मा प्रकाशित स्वयम्भूलाल श्रेष्ठको लेख तथा रामजी उपाध्यायको नेपालको इतिहास २४२ पृष्ठबाट]

ऐतिहासिक पत्रस्तम्भ

पत्र पठाउने:– श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह
पत्र पाउने:– श्री गिन्दुन पाम्वार्लामा
विषय:– गुम्वाको वित्तां थामी दिएको लालमोहर
मिति:– विक्रम सम्वत् १८१८ फाल्गुन वदि ९ रोज ६

दुर्गा १

स्वस्ती श्री गिरिराज चक्र चूडामनि नरनारायनेत्यादि विविध विरूदावलिविराजमान मानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मत्पृथ्वीनारायण शाहदेवानां सदा समरविजयीनाम—

आगे. गिनु दुन पाम्वार्लामाके पुंजि घुंवा. वां थलि घुंवा. नागन्याघुंवा. लिस्याबुघुंबा. उंमाघुंवा. चरिकोट घुंवा ल्होभा लामाले मारव कसि पठाया छन्. सो हामीले थामी वकसिउँ.घुंवा घुंवाका सिष्य साषा माथिको अंवल गिनुहुन् पांवार्लामाले गर्नु घुंवा घुंवाको पुरानु षायल वित्तां समेत थामी वकसी उँ. इतिसम्वत् १८१८ फाल्गुन वदि ९ रोज ६ शुभम्—

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पत्र पाउने:– श्री देबु राना
पत्र पठाउने:– श्र ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह
मुकाम–काठमाडौं
बिषय:– लमजुङमा फौज तर्ने विषयको लालमोहर
मिति:– विक्रम सम्वत् १८३१ आषाढ वदि १० रोज १

श्री दुर्गा सहायः १

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्र चुडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावलि बिराजमान् मानोन्नत श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री महाराजे पृथ्वी नारायण शाह बाहादुर समसेर जङ्गदेबानाम्सदास समर्विजइनाम्–स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा ज्योज्ञेत्यादी श्री देवुरानाके आसिष पूर्वकपत्रमिदं आंहां कूशल ताहां कूशल चाहिय आगे आँहाँको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त साउन्या संक्रान्तीका भोलिवेर लम्तर्जुग जान्या फौज सामेल गरि तिमीहरू तयार भई रहउ, पारिलम्जुले किकाज गर्ला–र तव तरौला कि पर्वत लञ्जुंका भला मानिस वारि तर्लान् र तव तरौला विच तर्नु छैन् तहाँ तयार भन्या भैरहउ गुप्त गरिरहउ जाहार गर्नु खैली गलीगमहा तयार भैरहउ आहाबाट पनि भई विरशाह पनि याया ज्यामु षज्या वत् अहाउ नु. हर्ने देउ श्र हाइ पठायाको छ, विस्तार गर्नात् इति सम्वत् १८३१ आषाढ वदि १० रोज १ मुकाम काठमाँडौं शुभम्–

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पत्र पठाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वी नारायण शाह
मुकाम–नुवाकोट भाडी
पत्र पाउने—श्री रण रुद्र शाह
विषय—पत्र पाउने व्यक्तिलाई डाकेको विषयको लालमोहर
मिति—मार्ग वदि १० रोज ३,

श्री दुर्गा १

स्वस्तो श्री गिरिराजे त्यादि श्री मन्महाजाधिराज

श्री श्री श्री मत्पृथ्वीनारायण शाहदेवानां सदा समर विजय नाम

स्वस्ती श्री श्री रण रुद्र शाहके आषिष पूर्वक पत्र मीदं इहा कुशल ताँहा कुशल चाहिये पत्र आयो अर्थ पाञ्यौ भलो विति गरि पठाया छौं पात्पालि काजिसित हामीत वहुतै मिठो गरौंला परंतु पाल्पा ल्याउन्या मान्सिले केही कुरो तारी ल्यायाको रहेनछ. कुरोत गर्नु वनाउनुपो छ. तिमीकन वहुतै षोज्छन् इन्का नषोज्या पनि हामी डाकन्यै थिञ्यौं, तर इन्का षोज्या आपुबिना घाय गरेनन आउनै पन्यो. कास्कि सितको धन दिनु कुरो गर्नु आँट काँट समईहै गरौला एस पटकता आउनै पन्यो. उजांत जोहितको विहाषर्च विति गरि पठायां छौ. भलो जो होला बकूसौंला उजांत लंजुँ तनहुँको फौद तल्लो बाटो लाग्यो भनि लेख्याछौं. भलो वहुतै सह्यार गर्नु भन्याको तेंहि हो । मानिसलाइ राष. गर्गौंडाको संभार गराउ तव मिति आउ दाम हानिफिक्री होला. वाइकन गौंडा कुहुन्यैहो समैक हुनान्. वलिया गराउ. त्यो फौदको पछटालाइराष गाईघाटबाट मोत नेपाल बस्यो भनि जान्नु छ. चाँडो षवर दिहाल्या गजुरी तिरपनि षवर दी पठाया तव गौडाको सह्यार होला निश्चय गाईघाट तन्यो भन्या षवर चाँडो पठाया एताको संभारत हामी गरौंला पाल्पासित घाट जसो गरिबनाउँला तसै होला भनि लेख्या छौ भलो. तिमि विना मैले वोल्दा तकि घावसि जालाकि टुटन जाला तस् अर्थले तिमिले चाँडो आउन्या पन्यो चाडो चाडो चाडो आउ—कास्की को पनि म तोजतो ठहराउनु छ चाडो आउ. उ. जगै वानिञ्याकन पनि षाँदर्षुद पारि कास्की पठाउ क्या होला भलो. उ. पश्चिमको फौद छिर्ला भनी कन ··· छिनँ दिनु छैन भनि मकवानपुर षलिता पठाग्यौं उ. नेपालको समचार उत्तीकैछ. विस्तारकालु षतृ कहला. इति मार्ग वदि १० रोज ३ मुकाम नुवाकोट माडी शुभम्—

पत्र पठाउने—श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री पृथ्वी नारायण शाह—मुकाम—नुवाकोट
पत्र पाउने—श्री रण रुद्र शाह
विषय—कास्कीमा मान्छे पठाउने वारेको लालमोहर
मिति—कार्तिक वदि १३ रोज २

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्र चुडामनि नर नारायेनेत्यादि विविध—विरुदावलि विराजमान मानोन्नत श्री मन्महराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मन्नृप पृथ्वी नारायणशाह देवानां सदा समरविजयीनाम्—

स्वस्ती श्री गिरिराजेत्यादि श्री श्रीमद्गणरुद्र साहदेवेषु सदा समरविजयीषु. इत. आसिक. पूर्वक पत्रमिदं इदाँ कुशल. ताहाँ कुशल चाहीये. येहिते पर मानंद हो इहाँको समाचार निको छ उप्रान्त वेसुराना नाहार आलेमहा येकजनाकन कास्की चाडोगरि पठाउ. वहुत मिठोगरि पठाउ येकजना वसुन् म इहाँदेषि धन पठाइ दिउला र धन लिकन जानान् म पनि नुवाकोट आइपुग्या समग्रर्थको शंभार तिमी भित्र छ. विज्ञेषु कीं अधिकं मुहज वनि षतृवालाको सहि कार्तीक वदि १३ रोज २ मुकाम नुवाकोट शुभंम्—

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पत्र पठाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वी नारायण शाह
मुकाम—नुवाकोट राजधानी
पत्र पाउने—काम्रे' सुन्थान, फुलवारी र नाम्राका द्वारेहरू (सयुक्त नाममा)
विषय—लडाईंमा मद्दत पठाउने वारेको लालमोहर
मिति—मार्ग वदि ४ रोज ४

श्री दुर्गा १

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराजेत्यादि श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मत्पृथ्वीनारायण शाह देवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम

स्वस्ति श्री राज भारा सामर्थ श्री काम्प्रा सुंथान फूलवारि नाम्चु ढाका हुवा न्याउ मरा वहुयाके आसिषु पूर्वक पत्रमिद इहा कुशल ताहाँ कुशल चाहिए. पत्रआयो अर्थ मालम् भयो आगे इहाँको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त ताहाँ ठाना महा बैरि आयादेखि हांन्या गरैन च्यातन्यै गरला तस्कारण ठाना

ठानामाहा वगरका हान्या ढुंगा·····घोतलि काँउप निचाल ठानामहाँ काढा पनि घात सामगृहि वलियोगरी राष्याको. भका च्यातन आउँदा घर्का.....ला जस् पाउला घेन्वा देषिता ताहाँबाट चाडो समाचार त्याया हुई दिन महाँ इहाँ आइपुगला फेरि तिन दिन महा ईहाँबाट गुहार आई·····गौंला हानौंला परतु वारू गोलि पनि पठाउँछौ आउँछ विज्ञेषुकि ····धिकम् मार्ग वदि ४ रोज ४ मुकाम नुवाकोट राजधानि शुभंम्—

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पत्र पाउने—श्री देबु राना
पत्र पठाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह-
मुकाम—कान्तिपुर
विषय—पश्चिम तर्फको काम राणाले गर्ने र भादगाउँमा कब्जा गर्ने वारे तर्जुमा वारेको लाल मोहर
मिति—आश्वीन सुदी ३ रोज ६

श्री दुर्गा १

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्र चुडामणि नर नारायणे त्यादि विविध विरूदाबलि विराजमानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मत्पृथ्वीनारायण साहदेवानां सदा समर विजयिनाम—

स्वस्ति श्री राजमारा सामर्थ श्री देवुरानाकै आशिष. इहा कुशल ताहा कुशल चाहिए. पत्र आयो अर्थ मालम भयो. इहाँको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त पश्चिमतिरकोसे समाचार विति गरि पठाईन्छ. सविस्तार सुन्यौं. वाकी. इहाँको समाचार. काठमाडौं पाटन फत्त भयाको समाचार अस्ति विस्तार लेखिपठाया थ्यौं विस्तार बुनि होस् अब भादगाउँको वालि पनि लुटनु भादगाउँ लाई पनि सकसलाउनु चाजोगरी डुवुकोबाट ठाना २ सागाका फेदि महाँ ठाना २ पन्या. पन्याका ठाना दह्राइकन अधि ठाना सौंर्या गर्दछौं सांगावाट पनि लुभु पाटन काठमाण्डौं देउपाटन गोकन चांगु सवत्रबाट प्रजा सिपाहि लगाई वाली लुटाउँछौं ठाना हालि भादगाउँकन पनि सकस लाउंछौं. वाकि पश्चिम तिरको सै समाचार. निस्तुकवुर्जेदै विति गरि पठाउँछो. ताहाका गढ गौडाको पनि. वहुतै संभार गर्नुः किमधिकम्. आश्विन सुदी ३ रोज ६-मुकाम-कान्तिपुर शुभंम्—

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पत्र पठाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वी नारायण शाह
मुकाम—नुवाकोट
पत्र पाउने—परशुराम थापा
विषय—मिलन आउनु भनि लेखिएको लालमोहर
मिति—आषाढ सुदी १२ रोज १

श्री दुर्गा १

स्वस्ती श्री गिरिराज चक्र चुडामणि नर नारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूधावली विराजमानमानोन्नत श्रीमन्ममहाराजधिराज श्री श्री श्री मत्पृथ्वीनारायण शाह देवानां सदा समरविजयीनाम्

स्वस्ति श्री परराम थापाके आशीष पूवक पत्रमिदं आँहा कूशल ताँहा कुशल चाहि. आगे आहाको समाचार भला छ. उप्रान्त जस् ढुंगाको षइंछ. वसिछ. उस ढुंगाको थामना उकासनानिमि य भरि सक्य गरिछ. त्यो ढुंगो थामना उकासनानिमित्य हामीसित छलकल गन्यौत पनि त्यो विराउ माफै छ. सहे हुनभाव. उप्रान्त तिमि हाम्रं पछि वांहो हौत पनि तिम्रा बाबाकन. काठमाडौले वटायाको हो। जसले बढाउँछ. जसको नून षाईन्छ. जसका निमित्त भरि सक्य गरिन्छ. नेपालका निमित्त भरिसक्य गन्यौत. त्यो केही विराएनौ. यो दोचिन् मान्याको हामिले मान्याको छैन. उप्रान्त नालदुम देषि वढो कांक्षा चौतरियाकन. पाटनमाहा थाप्या देषि बुढोको विराउँ माफ गरि पाउँ भनि वारम्वार कागत लेषि पढाऊौंथ्यौं एस् कुराको हामिले कोह भान्याको छैन. विराउँ. देष्याको पनि छैन. याहा भन्या देषि. हिजो तिखा दाज्यूकन जषडाकासेल मार्दा. तिमि भादगाउँ पश्यौ. भादगाउँबाट. तिमि हामि भैकन नांलदम लिऊौं. तिश्रोबयर जय प्रकास सित यो हो र काठमाडौंका ढुंगासित होइन. जसहिन जय प्रकास परसारला तसछिन. तिमि काठमाडौं आउला भनि हामिले बुझैकों थियो. जयप्रकास पर सदाँ काठ-

माराडौं थामना निमित्य भरिसक्य गर्न्या. तिम्रो धर्म हो. यो पनि केहि विरीयाको होईन. एस कुराको हामिले केहि मान्याको छैन. उप्रान्त पाटन महां भाईकन थाप्यौत पनि. त्यो हामिले केहि मान्याको छैन. क्यांही भन्या. हाम्रो नून षाईकन प त्यो काम गर्दा होत. कुल्याहा कहाँदाहो. तिमिलेत. हांम्रो पानि पनि पियाको छैन. ताहाँ बसि हाम्रा भाईहरूकन फार्फार गरि. हाम्रो घर फोर्न्या योग्यै हो. त्यो पनि केहि विरायाको होईन. मेरो भाई भैकन. भाईले प त्यो काम गर्न्या होईन. तिमिलेत त्यो काम गर्न्यै हो. मदेषि तिमि तर्सनुछो तर्सन्या होईन नतर्स. जस् दिन मेरो नून षाईकन. मेरो दर्शन गरिकन त्यो काम गर्याका दिन प तर्सन्याहो. आजत तर्स या दिन पर्याको छैन, तिमिलेत आज हाँम्रो केही छैन, उप्रान्त थोटा कुरो मात्र घटिया गर्छौ. नम्रा-उन्या भया. कागत नलेषनु. निश्चय आउन ठहराया-देषि तब कागत लेषनु. भला मानिसले ढांटनु त केहि वडै. काम हुन्या भया ढाटनु थोरा काम महा ढाटचात मानिस व्यथिति को बोलाउँछ. हलुको पर्छः यो सभै तिमि जाँदै छौ उप्रान्त आज तिम्रो ताहा बस्न्या दिन पर्याको छैन. आउनुपर्छ भन्छौत. चाँडो आउ तिम्रो बन्यैछ. नाहि नेपाल मर्दात. सति जानु छ भन्याका गतसागत् केहि नलेष. मनुं भन्याको बडो गाह्रो छ. भोलि तिमि-लाई षामषा आउने परला गलिकन आउँदाचाहि. आज हामिले बोलाउँदा आधाको बहुत बडोया हो हेरि षडकाकन एहि समय चाही जागीर सय ५ नगद सय ५ धान. हात्ति शिरोपाउ दिंथ्यौं. षंडकालें पनि माघ-को दिन ८ जाँदो एक दिन. माघेका दिन १४ जाँदो एक दिन. ईकुई दिनमा एकदिन गरिकन आउँछौ. भन्यो. पछि जयप्रकासले फूसफास पार्दा. हामिकन ढाँटचो. पछि निदानमहा. वंधुवा भैकन. मुडिषु लिकन आउनु पर्यो. तिमिलाई पनि तस्तै परला हुदात. एस्तो गरि आउन्या षंडकाकन काटन्या हो. भलो मानिस भनि-कन पाल्याको छ. तिमि पनि वंधुवा भै आया पनि प्रति-पाल गरौंला पाल्याको भया काजै लागौला नासनन् भनि जति डराउ हामि नासैनौं पालौंला उप्रान्त. आज आउँछौत. पजनित भैं गयो. षानाकन धान्. षर्च. हात्ति शिरोपाउ बकसौंला. आपना बांधा षत्तामहां आई बस समयमहां जागीर बक्सौंला आउनुपर्छ भन्या. नेपालको हाम्रो कटक नहुदै आईजाउ कटक भया पछित आउनु असजिलो पर्छ कटक नगर्दै आयात. नेपाल हामिले मार्दा. केहि सेवन गरौला र तिम्रो केहि बनला तिम्रो विति पाठकले विस्तार विति गर्न्या सुन्यौं अरू सहि पनि पाठक को छ. लो प्रमाण मान. किमधिकं आषाढ शुदि १२ रोज १ मुकाम नुवाकोट शुभंम्—

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पत्र लेख्ने—श्री छोआंपो, जोर ढेवा, नुबुं ढेवा, फुंजो राप्तेन, छिट्टुजो र वांज्यूहरू—ठाउँ—कुती

पत्र पाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायणशाह

विषय—सुनको भाउ बारे

मिति—वि०सं० १८१२ पौषसुदी १४ रोज ६

श्रीदुर्गा १

श्री दुर्गा १

श्री कामिनी, श्री भैरवी, श्री लामाज्यू. श्री सिभुछेत्र, श्रीबोध.

श्रीबोध, श्रीसिभुछेत्र

स्वस्ति श्री श्री श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मन्नृप पृथ्वीनारायणशाहदेवबलाई—श्री छोआंपांजोर ढेवा. श्री नुबुं ढेवा. श्री फुंजो राप्तेन. श्री छिट्टुंडो. श्री वांज्यु एति हांमिले आजं मपर्यंतको धर्म लेषि चल्हाऱ्यौं. सुनाको भाउ. पोर रिजीठिवो लामाले ज्या भाउ गर्न्याको हो सोहिं भाउको सहि. तेस् भाउदेषि घटि वढि गर्नु छैन. अव उप्रांत सुनाको भाउमहां घटि बढि नगर्नु तिमिलें पठायाका रूपैयाको सुनां पनिं. आज पुग्या भोलि दिनु अथवा चार दिन भित्र पुऱ्याई दिनु सुनाको भाव घटाया. रूपैञ्चा अट्काया···को हांमिकन कुदृष्टि. सुनाको भावमहां अघि लामाले गर्न्याका सहिमहां रह्या. रूपैञ्चा नअट्काया सुदृष्टि. फेरि सुनाको भावमहा घटि बढि गर्न्या.....को मठभत्काया···को मठ भत्-काया को पाप लागोस् कुतिभित्रका सुनाको यो करार हो. कुति वाहिडाको सुना चांडो षोजि दिनु इति संवत् १८१२ पौष सुदि १४ रोज ६ शुभम्——

पत्र पठाउने—राजा श्री जयप्रकाश

पत्र पाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायणशाह

बिषय—भोटमा गोर्षा र काठमाण्डौको वकिल राख्ने वारेको धर्म

मिति—वि०सं० १८१४ पौष वदी ९ रोज ३

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्रीमज्जय प्रकाशमल्लदेबले स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्रीमन्नृप पृथ्वीनारायणसाहदेवकन धर्म्मपत्र लिखिदिञा. काठमाडौको गोर्षाको टकसार चलाउनु रूपैयामाहा कपट नधारनु दुबै टकसारमाहा एकै चास्ति ··· गोर्षाका रूपैया काठमाँडौले चल उनु काठमाडौ ·····गोर्षाले चलाउनु भोट रूपैया जिनिस पठाउ····· बरावर पठाउनु भोटमाहा गोर्षा काठमाडौको उकील बसाउनु दुबै उकीलले ठेचि मारि माल चलाउनु दुबैका मत वाहिक ल्याथाको लैगथाको माल षोशनु काठमाण्डौले षोस्या. आढा गोर्षाकन दिनु गोर्षाले षोस्या आढा काठमाडौ कन दिनु काठमाडौका रूपैया ताहां गोर्षाले···सास्ति गर्नु. दण्ड गर्नु गोर्षाको रूपैया इहा काठ····· नचलाथा सास्ति गर्नु दण्डगर्नु पाटन बाटो आयाका···जन लुटि नषानु काठमाडौमाहा गोर्षाको उकील वशाउनु गोर्षामाहा काठमाडौको उकील वशाउनु. उकील ··· मतले भारि फोर्नु माल हेर्नु. भोटवेपार गर्दा नवाकोटको बाटो गर्नु गोर्षाको माल जाहिर गरी ल्याथाको काठमाडौले नषोसनु. लुकाइ ल्याथाका षोशनु. काठमाडौको माल जाहिर गरि ल्याथाको गोर्षाले नषोशनु लुकाई ल्याथाका षोशनु भोट बाटो आयाका सुना रूपा बरोबरि लिनु मधेश बाटो आयाका सिक्का बरोवरि लिनु. पाटन गोर्षाले षानु नालदुम् काठमाडौलाई दिकन काठमाडौको काम गर्नु पाटन गोर्षाका हाथ नहराका दिन काठमाडौले थामनु पशनु काठमाँडौको हाथ आयाका दिन. गोर्षाकन सोपि दिनु. अधि गोर्षाको पछिका·····काठमाडौको ऐसकरार-माहा ····· धर्म्मको वृद्धि होस् करार नराष्वा पंचमहा-पातक लाग·····संवत् १८१४ रो ३ मिति पौष बदि ९ लिखितमिति शुभं ——

पत्र पठाउने—श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायणशाह

पत्र पाउने—दोलखाका प्रधानहरू

विषय—मिल्न आउ भन्ने लालमोहरको नकल

मिति—भाद्र बदि ४ रोज ४

श्री ५ बडा महाराजाका लालमोहरको नकल

श्री

श्री गोरषनाथ

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्र चूडामणि नर नारा-यणे यादि विविध विरुदावलि विराजमान मानोन्नत श्री श्री श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्रीमन्नृप पृथ्वि नारायणशाहदेवानाम् सदा समरविजइनाम———

स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमाजोग्य राजमारा सामर्थ इत श्री दोलष्या देसवार प्रधानकेषु आशीष. पूर्वक पत्रमिदं. इहाँ कुसल ताहा कुसल चाहिये जेहिते परमानन्द होई. आगे इहाको समाचार निको छ. उप्रान्त तिमि प्रजापात हौ. नालदुम् पूर्व मेरो अम्बल भयो. तुमि मेरा हजुरमा आव तिम्रो धन जोयको म रछ्या गरूँला. पिछादि अर्को तरह गरूँत———को कुदृष्टि धर्म दिकन तुमि न-आयादेषि. तिम्रो. जहाजात गरूँला. उप्रांत पाल्हुग् तिष्टुङग. चितलाग् हामि थ्यौं सोझोभै मिल्या र. उनको रछ्या हामिले गरेको छ. किमधिकं विज्ञषु. भाद्र बदि ४ रोज ४ मुकाम नुवाकोट शुभम्———————

NEPAL

(Continued)

Sylvain Levi

The inscription of Pashupati is no more from here of any positive help. After Vasantadev, it jumps by the intermediary of Udayadeva right up to Narendradeva, father of King Shivadeva who reigns a century after Amsuvarman and grand-father of King Javadeva, author of this inscription dated from 153 a century and a half after Amsuvarman. The portion of the verse which expressed the filiation of Narendradeva opens (or begins) with a mysterious expression and is continued by an omission. The only positive fact is that from Vasantadeva to Narendradeva, the sceptre has been handed down in a broken line and that the legitimate dynasty has undergone an eclipse during an interval, not determined. The words asyantare which serve to connect Narendradeva to Vasantadeva, betray by their difficulties, the constraints of the official panegyrist; one can attempt to interpret them by asya (vamcasya) antare 'in an interval of his race', or in a disappearance of this race or even 'in another branch of this race', and in other ways again because each one of these two names is susceptible to translations infinitely varied. The accession of Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty is an authentic and unquestionable fact; but the fall of the Licchavis seems to be the result of a crisis which has become complicated with other accidents; the Vamsavali of Kirkapatrick which gives Amsuvarman as the successor direct and legitimate of Shivadeva retains the memory of an Abhiva conquest during the reign of Bhimadevavarman, the pastoral dynasty which was credited as being one of the most ancient dynasties of the kingdom would have tempted a restoration; three Abhiras sovereigns would have exercised the power during 175 years; but the predecessor of Amsuvarman, Shivadeva, brings back the Solar dynasty to the throne.

It is already on a prince of the same name (26) Shivadeva that I have separated myself from the dynastic lists, immediately after the reign of Gunakamadeva (25). This first Shivadeva is in three of the Vamsavalis (W.V.B.) an important personage hero of numerous legends and consecrated by a multitude of pious works. His successors Narendradeva (27), Bhimadeva (28), Vish-

nudeva (29), are only known by name: Vicva Gupta deva or Vicvadeva (30), who follows them is associated like Shivadeva to religious memories. The Shivadeva of the inscriptions, authentic predecessor of Amsuvarman is the author of numerous donations and foundations; not a single king is represented in Nepalese epygraphy by a greater number of documents. Perhaps the two Shivadevas of Kirkpatrick's list (26 and 32) the Shivadeva (26) and the Vicvadeva (30) of the other Vamsavalis must reduce themselves to a single personage, identical to the Shivadeva of the inscriptions. Narendradeva and Bhimadeva would then play the parts of Louis XVII and Napolean II, they would be the essential intermediaries in order to guarantee the legitimate transmission of the power, right through revolutions and dynastic crises from the Licchavi predecessors of Amsuvarman, to the official successors of this prince.

With Shivadeva, the dynasty is displaced; it abandones its ancient residence of Banecvara where it had maintained itself since the accession of its founder Bhumivarman and it removes itself to Deva Pattana (Deo Patan), the town adjoining the temple of Pashupati, founded in the days of Ashoka embellished and enriched by Bhaskaravarman, successor of the ancient Pasupreksadeva. Shivadeva erects thither a palace with nine stories; he founds thither a gate, two wells, three fountains, four images of Nrtya Natya, five platforms for dancing, six blocks (of stone), seven Ishwaries, eight Agamas, nine Geneschas; then by reasen of the circular shape of the town he gives it the name of Gola, 'the ball'. He also founds Nava-tola, established thither four Ganesh, four Bhairavas, four Nrtya Natyas, four Mahadevas, four Kumaries, four Buddhas, for Khambas, four Gagancaris and four quadrants with images of Bhuddha. He is also the founder of Mahagara and other localities again. Religion especially interests him, he institutes and regulates untiringly. He instals at the sides of Pashupati Nrtya Natya of Mount Cataruda and Kamecvara Bhimasena; he erects a Vacana Vinayaka. He recognizes Vatsala Devi as the principal divinity of Nepal accords him a human sacrifice yearly creates or institutes a procession of the chariot in his honour. He restores the religion of Bhuvaneshwari, of Jayabagishwari and of Rajeshwari etc. He decides that the Vajrayogini (of Sanku) will be re-painted every twelve years only. Humbly attached to a yogi whom he holds as an incarnation of the irascible Durvasas and whom he adopts as a guru, he abdicates, leaves the throne to his brother Narendradeva and goes to live as a humble disciple near the yogi. The yogi once dead; he attaches himself to a bhiksus who he takes for guru, enters the Buddhists orders, constructs a convent wherein he retires; but at the end of four days of monastic life, he recognizes that he was mistaken on his vocation; asks to return to the world; takes out the yellow garment of the Bhiksus; receives the sacrement of Acarya and builds in the neighbourhood of the first convent, another convent where he goes and lives at home; it is the convent known today under the name of Onkuli Bihar in Patan. One day whilst

he gave himself up to mediation, his skull burst and whilst the soul escaped through there shot out a mysterious jewel enigmatic in form and size.

Punyadeva, a son of Shivadeva, when he had already become Vajracharya, accomplished the funeral rites and Narendradeva continues to occupy the throne which lets out to his son, Bhimdeva. Vishnudeva reigns next then Vishwadeva or Vicva gupta deva. This king wishes to suppress the human sacrifices which was offered to Vatsala but a divine manifestation dissuades him from his intention. He is instrumental in the working out of a large statue of Vishnu, in stone on the Northern side of the Bagmati and Bishnumati (This is the Vishnu natha founded, according to Kirkpatrick by Vishnu Gupta the Abhira); he also erects, in order to win the favour of Jayavagishwari, a statue of the Navadurgas and Kumaries. Having no son, he gives his daughter in marriage to a Thakuri Vaicya of pure caste, named Amsuvarman who inherits the throne. But, before Amsuvarman takes over the power, Vikramaditya of Ujjayini arrives in Nepal to impose on this kingdom the era which he has just founded thanks to the fabulous riches which enabled him to liquidate everywhere, all the debts; it is at this price that a monarch can and must found an era; he further institutes at the village of Harisiddhi, a dramatic representation which Hindustan allows at last, Amsuvarman to reign over the country.

Three inscriptions expressly bear the name of King Shivadeva as their author; one of these was found by Bhagbanlal at Buddha-Nil-Kantha (Jalacayana), is undated; another was discovered by N. Bendall of Bhatgaon in the Golmadhi-tol is dated from 516 or 518 (and not 316 or 318); the last one which I found myself at Bhatgaon in the Tulacchi-tol allows only in the clear reading of its date the figure of the hundreds 5 followed probably with the sign of the first ten. The first one the inscription of Buddha-Nil-Kantha is truncated; there only exists of it the formulary of introduction, but this fragment suffices to observe the identity of the protocol in out of three texts. Shivadeva resides in the palace of Managriha, he has not changed the 'darbar' whatever the Vamsavalis might say he is the 'banner of the Licchavis race'; the regular successor of his father (Bappa Badanudhyata) who continues to follow him with his thought. Like his ancestors the Licchavis, like Vasantadeva or Ganadeva, he is satisfied with the title Bhattaraka-Maharaja which seems very domest in comparison to the royal titles customary in the VIIth century, but which tradition consecrated as the expression of the antiquity of the dynasty. The inscription of Buddha-Nil-Kantha declares that Shivadeva is 'learned, versed in politics, well brought up, heroic, constant and that here only began his merits where there is nothing wanting'. The two charts of Bhatgaon even renounce at this attempt at renumeration. 'Numerous the sum total of his virtues develop his glory.' Both the description testify to the persistency of the customs of the chancery. They take up each separately the elements of the formula employed a century earlier by Vasantadeva; 'learned,

well versed in politics sympathetic liberal, courteous, pious, majestic, he expanded the purity of his glory. After this preliminary the king addressed himself directly to those concerned, he informs them of his health, greets them good-morning and communicates to them his decision; but he takes care each time to carry back the initiative and as a consequence against it to his counsellor the 'great marquis' (Maha-samanta) Amsuvarman; by an unexpected reversing of situations, the vassal is more pompously praised than the sovereign; 'the great marquis Amsuvarman has an illustrious renown which is also immaculate and well spread, his active valiance has reduced to a state of calmness the power of numerous rivals' (Bhatgaon); or again 'the multitude of great battles which he has won, earns his heroism a lustre which crushed the might of all his adversaries; the pains he takes too carefully, watch over the people has earned him a splendid glory which fills up the disc of the earth' (Buddha-Nil-Kantha); on his request (Vihnapitena), the king as a mark of consideration to him and compassion for those concerned confers privileges of some classical nature; the officers of the crown are only authorised to enter on the state territory, to collect the three contributions; they are forbidden to enter, thither, either to hand over written notes (summons to appear, notice for settlement of outstanding) or on the occasion of the five crimes usually reserved to royal jurisdication. The favoured localities clearly bear barbarous names, otherwise said Nevars. Khrpun (Bhatgaon), Mahostanstsara (ib., Golmadhi-tol). The same delegate (dutaka) is entrusted with the surveillance of the execution of the two charts of Bhatgaon; he is Bhogavarma-Gomin.

Two other inscriptions, badly mutilated, must also be related to Shivadeva by virtue of their date of their writing and by their formulation; they are located in two neighbouring localities, of Dharampur and at Thoka, in the North of Kathmandu and in the North West of Buddha-Nil-Kanth. The stele of Dharampur is dated from 520 the end of its alone is decipherable; it stated a double privilege conceded by the king. But there is a want of detail; the fragments mention a Lalla-kara who appears again in an inscription of Jisnu Gupta and indicate the use of the 'pana' of copper as the monetary unit. The stele of Thoka is dated from 519; it is a chart of donation which determines with its usual minuteness, the boundaries of the given land. The dutaka of Dharampur is Bhogavarma Gomin; that of Thoka, Vartta-Bhogacandra.

Thus, three times out of four, it is the same personage, Bhogavarma-Gomin who is delegated as the representative of the royal power. The other delegate, Bhogacandra, bears a name closely resembling the first one, equally formed by the word 'bhoga' in a combination. Well, names of this type are far from being ordinary; the Corpus does not mention for the period of the Guptas, any example outside Nepal; the lists of M. Kielhom which includes almost the whole of the history of the middle-ages and modern times in India, adds in it one example only Bhogabhata. But in Nepal, besi-

des Bhogavarman and Bhogacandra, the dutakas of king Shivadeva the inscriptions mention Bhogadevi, sister of this Amsuvarman, who was the counsellor of Shivadeva before usurping his throne. Bhogadevi has a son nephew of Amsuvarman and who is called Bhogavarman. A century after Amsuvarman, a new Shivadeva, king of Nepal, n arries a princess born in the race of the Maukharis in the family of the Varmans–daughter of a Bhogavarman who had espoused the daughter of a powerful king, Adityasena of Maghadha. The race of Maukharis was equal to that the Licchavis by its ancientness and surpassed it in purity in the VIIth century, a contemporary of Amsuvarman, Bana is his romanesque history of the Emperor Harsa, did not hesitate to declare that 'equal to the footprints of Mahecvara, the race of the Maukharis is on the summit of the earth's supports (kings or mountains) and whom the whole world religiously worship. The very sister of Emperor Harsa, Rajyasri had espoused a prince Maukhari Grahavarman. The names of Bhogavarman (Gomin), Bhogacandra, Bhogadevi compared with the names Bhogavarman the Maukhari, seem to denote the Maukhari consented in giving his daughter in marriage to a descendent of Amsuvarman (Shivadeva), a Licchavi of Nepal, should for better reasons accept willingly for son-in-law, Amsuvarman himself. In fact of alliances, the Licchavis of the mountains could not have been more exacting than the Maukharis of Hindusthan.

Bhogavarman, 'Dutaka' of the chart of the Golmadhi-tol, is undoubtedly identical to the nephew of Amsuvarman who bears the same name. The chart, dates of Samvat 518 is only five years anterior to the chart of Amsuvarman (Samvat 39), wherein Bhogadevi, sister of Amsuvarman is designated as the mother who gave birth to the noble (sri) Bhoghavarman; this designation seems to point out that Bhoghavarman held a hi h position. Bhoghavarman-Gomin is certainly the same personage as Bhoghavarman. 'Gomin', in fact, is only a title tacked on to the name. The lexicons give us no help to exactly find the worth but they are at least agreed upon with the other documents to give it a significant essential Buddhistic. The Gomin is an 'Upasaka'; a faithful layman who takes the vow to observe the five essential abstinences and to come to the help of religious men.[1] But all the Upasakas are not Gomins. The most famous of Gomins Candra and the grammarian and theologian was simply called Candra and the grammatical system of which in the creator has remained known under the name of the grammar of Candra 'Candra Vyakarna'; he was originally an Upasaka, but he became Upasaka-Gomin on the express indication of Avalokiteshwara, when the goddess Tara had by a miracle carried him to island in the ocean which was still barren, but which soon peopled itself thanks to him 'Ever since then Candra received the name of Candra Gomin.[2] 'The Tibetan historian of Indian Buddhism still names 1st Kamala Gomin, another devotee of Avalokiteshwara who had cognizance of the Tripitaka, Upasaka, servant of those religious men who lived in the contemplation of Mahayana.[3] This Kamala Gomin was a contemporary of Dharmakirti who lived in the reign of king Srong-Stdan Sgam-po, the very son-in-law of Amsuvarman. 2nd Mudgara (the name is doubtful) Gomin author of a famous hymn but especially known for having enlarged the monastery

of Nalanda; he was a Brahman by origin, but who observed 'the vows of Bhadanta of an Upasaka'4 3rd Kumarananda an Upasaka-Gomin of the countries of the south who instructed 5000 Upasakas and made them understand the Prajnaparamita whilst another Upasaka Maitikumara engaged in domestic life, popularized the Dhyana of the Mahayana.5 The Singalese literature numbers among its illustrations a Gomin, Gurulu Gomin author of the Amavatura and of the Dharmapradipikava, which tradition classify in the reign of Aggabodhi Ist at the close of the VIth century (564-593).6

The name only has survived of Indra Gomin, the grammarian.7 The Tibetans regularly translate Gomin by btsun-pa, which signifies respectable, noble venerable faithful in the observance of religious duties. The Mahavyutpatti, which mentions the name of Candra Gomin in the five cannonical language (177) bases all its translations on the Tibetan interpretation, for example, in Chinese, 'miaoyne, perfect Moon'. This interpretation bases itself on the testimony of Candra Gomin himself who in his grammar (IV, 2, 144) explains Gomin by pujya 'honourable'.

The vartta Bhogacandra, the other delegate of Shivadeva, bears the title of vartta; the term vartta is regular derivative of the word 'vrtti' subsistance. The vartta would correspond exactly, as regards the form and actual worth with the varttiyas modern Nepal; the Varttiyas are the vassals who have received in perpotual donation a fief free of charges but without any right of jurisdiction.8

The kings of Thakuri dynasty W.V.B. of Nepal are shown below:

1.	Amsuvarman	68 years. B.V.W.
	Unghoo Burmah	42 years.
2.	Krtavarman	87 years. B.V.(W.)
	Kirto Burmah	18 years. K.
3.	Bhimarjuna	93 years.
	Bheem Arjoon Deo	39 years K.
4.	Nanda deva	25 years. B.
	Nund Deo	95 years. V. (W.)
		13 years. K.
5.	Vira deva	95 years. B.V. (W.)
	(5) Seo Deo	16 years K.
6.	Gamdraketu deva B.W.	
7.	Narendra deva	98 years. V.
	"	7 years. W.B.
	(6) Nurrender deo	37 years. K.
8.	Vara deva	8 years. W.B.
	Vala deva	23 years V.
	(7) Bul Deo	17 years K.
9.	Cankara deva	12 years. B.V.W.
	(8) Sunker Deo	12 years K.
10.	Varjganaba deva	13 years. B.V.S.
	(9) Bhem Arjoon Deo (the 2nd)	16 years K.
11.	Bali deva	13 years W.B.
	"	12 years. V.
	(11) Srec Bull Deo	16 years. K.
12.	Jaya deva	15 years. B.V.W.
	(10) Jye Deo	19 years K.
	(12) Condur Deo	7 years K.
	(13) Jye Deo (the 2nd)	42 years. 7 m.K.
	(14) Bul deo (the 3rd)	11 years. K.

13. Balarjuna deva 17 years. B.W.V.
15. Ballunjoon Deo 36 years. 7m. K.
Ragheeb Deo 63 years K.
(16) Raghava deva 46 years 3 m. Bd.
Jaya deva 10 years Bd.
(17) seeker Deo 88 years 6 m.K.
(18) Soho Deo 33 years 9m. K.
14. Vikrama deva 12 years. B.V.W.
8 year 9 m. Bd.
19. Bickrum Deo 1 year m. K-
(20) Nurrender Deo 1 year 6 m. K
Narendra deva 1 year 6 m. Bd.
15. Gunakama deva 51 years. W.B.
65 years. 5m. Bd.
Gunadeva 51 years V.
21. Goonokam Deo 85 years 6 m. K.
(22) Oodey Deo 6 years K.
22. Udaya deva 5 years. 5m Bd.
23. Nurbhoy Deo 7 years K.
16. Bhojadeva 8 years W.B.V.
24. Bhaj Deo Budra 9 years m.K.
17. Laksmikama deva 22 years. W.B.V.
21 years. Bd.
25. Letchmi Camdeo Dutta 21 years K.
18. Jayakama deva 20 years. W.B.V.
(26) Jye Deo 20 years. K.
Vijaya 31 years Bd.

(Thakuris of Nayakot W.B.V)

1. Bhaskara deva
W.B.V. 13 years. V.
3 years Bd.
Bhaskur Deo K.
(2) Oodey Deo 7 years 1 month. K.
2. Bala deva W.B.V. 12 years. V. Bd.
(3) Bul deo K. 12 years. V. Bd.
3. Padma deva
W.B.V. 11 years.
Puddiem Deo K. 6 years.
(4) Pradyaumnakama deva Bd
4. Nagarjuna deva
W.B.V. 3 years V.
2 years Bd.
(5) Naug Arjoon K 3 years.
5. Cankara deva
W.B.V. 11 years. V.
15 years Bd.
(6) Sunker Deo K. 17 years.

(Thakuris of Patan of the family of Amsuvarman W.B.V.)

6. Vama deva
W.B.V. 3 years V. Bd.
Bam Deo K. 3 years.
7. Harsa deva W.B.V. 15 years. V.
14 years Bd.
Shree Horkh Deo K. 16 years.
8. Sada Shiva deva
W.B.V. 21 years V.
Seo Deo K. 27 years 7 months.
Shiva deva Bd. 27 years 5 months.
(9) Indra Deo K 12 years
Indra deva Bd. 12 years
9. Mana deva
W.B.V. 10 years.
4 years 7 months Bd.
10. Maun Deo K. 4 years 7 months
10. Nara Simha deva
W.B.V. 22 years
(11) Nurrender Deo K. 5 years 4 months
11. Nandra deva
W.B.V. 21 years
Ananda deva Bd. 20 years.

12. Rudra deva
W.B.V. Bd. 10 years. B.V.
7 years W.
8 years 1m. Bd.
Rudro Deo K. 80 years

13. Mitra deva W.B.V. 21 years
Amrita deva Bd. 3 years 11 months
Omret Deo K. 3 years 11 months
(Rudra deva)

14. Someshwara
deva Bd. 4 years 3 months
Soomeesur Deo K 6 years 3 months

15. Gunakama deva
Bd. 3 years
(Laksmikama deva)

16. Vijaya Kama
deva Bd. 17 years.
Buz Caum Dea "

The successor of Shivadeva Amsuvarman is among the ancient kings of Nepal, the spoilt child of fortune. He ascended to the throne without his birth entitling him to it; he has founded a dynasty; he has introduced a new era; the Chinese have recorded his name; the Tibetans have connected him to their legends. By the testimony of the Vamsavalis (excepting Kirkpatrick), Amsuvarman was the son-in-law of his predecessor; he left the palace of Deo Patan which Shivadeva, the Licchavi had erected and changed his resistence to Nadhyalakh, a little further to the South; he erected thither a great 'darbar' with splendid courts (canka); he also built thither houses for his ministers and officials. He was vigourous, active, feared, indefatigable in the pursuit of his human ends.[9] He was taken up with Prayagatirtha, and persuaded the local Bhairaca, Prayaga-Bhairava, to follow him and dwell near his palace; in return he gave him a meat offering every year. The gods who will then showed themselves to mortal eyes, ceased after his reign, to manifest themselves in their real form. The Vamsavalis of Wright and of Bhagvanlal place his accession in the year 3000 of the Kali-yuga (101 B.C.)

Epigraphy permits us to follow the carrier of Amsuvarman. He appears firstly in Shivadeva's inscriptions in 518, 519, and 520 S., like the 'great marquis' privileged counsellor and unique dispenser of royal favours; the panegyric of the manful virtues of the minister, cleaverly grafted on the official eulogy of the king, shows in its contents a threatening countenance. The usurper already works under the mayor of the palace, Amsuvarman has vanquished numerous enemies; he is the hero; he has the 'pratapa', this dazzling brilliancy of majesty which is the stamp of the royal person.

The Revolution is accomplished with the inscriptions of Harigaon Shivadeva has disappeared; Amsuvarman alone occupies the scene. He has deserted, as is exactly indicated in the Vamsavalis, the old palace of Managriha, consecrated by the souvenir of the Licchavis; he took up his abode at Kailasa Kuta, the Madhya lakhy of the chroniclers and it was there that he organized his court. However, he has not yet taken the royal title, he continues to designate himself as the great marquis; it was only in the year 39 that he drops that title, but with daring assuming another; he is simply shree-Amsuvarman with the most ordinary of titular appellations (shree). He receives for the first time in the documents which are known to us, the majestic title of 'maharajadhiraja' in an inscription of king Jishnu-

gupta dated from the year 48. The embarassment of a badly defined positions again betrayed in other details of the protocol Shivadeva, like his predecessors, declared in the beginning of his inscriptions that his loving father followed him with his thought and affirmed by this saying his birth rights to the throne, he occupied. Amsuvarman dares not at first employ this saying, when the recollection of the 'coup d'etat' was still so vivid but he adopts it after a slight modification. He substitutes the father to whom he cannot claim a personage much more important and whose authority suffices in concealing all; the saint Pashupati, the sovereign, it is this god who watches over Amsuvarman. The father only exists in the background, in the expression 'bappa-pade-parigrhita' remarkable by the conciseness of its distinction. The verb parigrah extracted from the root grah 'to take' applies itself to the solemn and legal introduction of a person who is a stranger in the family, in the house, etc. If Amsuvarman, as is shown by the Vamsavalis, has espoused the daughter of Shivadeva who had no son, has been introduced by a sort of adoption in the quality of a son-in-law in the royal family. Whereas the wife follows ordinarily the husband in this case, the husband has followed the wife to erect himself a throne. Besides Amsuvarman quickly drops this compromising title; beginning from the year 32 perhaps from the year 34 positively, he only employs the ordinary wordings, faithfully reproduced afterwards by all his successors; 'bhagavat-pashupati-bhattaraka-padamugrhita bappa-padanuddhyata'. The Saint Pashupati favours him; his father (adored) follows him with his thought. A fairly long control of power, has as early as the year 34, transformed the occupation into legitimate possession.

The panegyric of Amsuvarman sustains in the course of its inscriptions oscillations of the same nature. But from the palace, he pompously spreads his praises in rivalry with the king and he exalts by the medium of the scribes, his military virtues and his great victories; once in full control of the reins of power, he changes his tone and proclaims only the new administration, it is peace; 'His activity is only pleased in doing good to others'. After the year 30, the eulogy disappears from the protocol; but still in the year 32, in a misplaced verse tacked on like a tail to the inscriptions, Amsuvarman again protests against his social preoccupations; 'my purified heart has no other ambition than the good of the people. How can my people become happy: said I to myself....' The eulogy does not appear in its proper place till 39 but the personage has once again changed his skin. Amsuvarman appears to posterity as an erudite and a philosopher; 'He has spent his days and nights an a great number of technical treaties (castras), he has pondered over their meaning he has ruined erroneous doctrines'. The eulogy unexpected as it seems appear however to be deserving. Hion-Asang, who passes near Nepal in the days of Amsuvarman had heard the boasting of this prince who distinguished himself by the wealth of his knowledge and the sagacity of his mind. He had himself composed a treaties on the knowledge of sounds (Cabdavidyacastra), he esteemed science and respected virtue. His reputations had spread to all parts.[10] The Pandits of Bhatgaon in the days of Kirkpatrick still preserved a tradition which dated the intro-

duction of the first Sanscrit grammar in Nepal, in the day of 'Unghoo Burmah' (Amsuvarman) of the posterity of (Pussoopush Deo) 11 The researches I have undertaken to discover the Grammar of Amsuvarman have so far been to no avail. Even the tradition recorded by Kirkpatrick in 1793 seems to have entirely fallen in oblivion. The inscriptions of Amsuvarman seem to bear manifest traces of the grammatical preoccupations of the king. Before Amsuvarman, the Licchavis have as a constant practice of reiterating the consonant which follows the letter 'r' either in the body of the same word or in the meeting of two words Panini (VIII, 4, 46) teaches that this practice is discretionary; it is, however followed most often in epigraphical texts. Amsuvarman, on the contrary constantly withholds himself in this case, of reiterating the consonant in a combination. The change appears in his name also. Shivadeva, the Licchavi writes Amsuvarman with an 'm' reiterated; Amsuvarman in his charts, writes Amsuvarman with a single 'm'. His successor, Jisnu Gupta remains faithful to this epigraphy; but the ordinary folks remain attached either through negligence or routine, to the ancient usage. In an inscription dated in the last years of Amsuvarman, but which commemorates a private foundation, the name of the king is written Amsuvarman with the 'm' double as also the name of the donor Vibhuvarman.

The first personal inscription of Amsuvarman in the year 30 shows him undoubtedly on the morrow of his accession, claimed by the organization of his court; it is the moment when he establishes his personal around the new palace. The site, which the Vamsavalis call Modhyalakhy, bears in the inscriptions the name or Kailasakuta, the pinnacle of Kailasa' by allusion to the mountain where Shiva loves to dwell, on the high Tibetan Plateau, towards the sources of the Indus. This name of Kailasa Kuta still remains connected to a ridge situated to the North and directly above the temple of Pashupati Harigaon where I found this inscription erected against a chapel with the inscription of the year 32 serving as a counter-poise, is situated to the west of Pashupati separated by the 'Stream of Washermen' (Dhobi Khola) from the plateau which supporters Deopatan, the town of Pashupati and which falls again with an abrupt slope to the East on the Bagmati. Modhyalakhy according to Wright, is situated on the road to the South of Deo Patan; for my part, I have not succeeded in having myself explained the site. In either case, the new royal residence was either to the North, South or West in the immediate neighbourhood of Deo Patan, the capital of Shivadeva and in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace of Licchavis. Managriha, since one of the gates indicated in the distribution of Amsuvarman is called 'the gate of Mana griha'.

The inscription in fairly good preservation has however, suffered a little; it regulates a certain number of donation but the statement of the circumstances is missing. It appears that Amsuvarman institutes 'Jagirs' in favour of those who have with different title contributed to his anointing; the temple of the goddess Sasthi, one of Durga's forms, the inspector general of armies, the prefect of the donations, the

elephants of the coronation, the horse of the coronation, the bearer of the fly flap, the bearer of the banner, the worker of the water, the watcher of the pithas, the bearer of the Pashupataka, the blower of the conch, even the sweepers, the gates, the great road, receive a sum in virtue of a rent undoubtedly rated in 'pu' and 'pa' probably in puranas and in panas.

The second chart of the year 32, attributes donations to institutions and religious organizations and also to individuals. It presents an interesting tableau of religious Nepal in the course of the VIIth century when Shivaism and Buddhism shared themselves without disagreeing the royal favours. Pashupati occupies the foremost rank but his Jagir does not exceed the others; behind him comes Dola-Cekhara-Svamin, the god of Changu Narayan. Then the Buddhist convents, foremost the Gum-Vihara, never came of the Mani Chaitya, situated on the outside of the town of Sanku; the Manavihara, probably the convent founded by Manadeva; the Kharjurikavihara, and following these the convents of lesser importance which are not particularly designated and which receive three times less than the first one. The secondary temples come after the viharas of the second order and are treated like them; the Rameshwara, the Hamas grihadeva, the Maneshwara, the Sambapura, the Vagvati para-deva, the Parvateshwara, the Narasimhadeva, the Kailaseshwara, the Jalacayana, the Bhumlakika receive each 3 pu (ranas) and 1 pa (na). The other temples of the gods (devakula) only receive 2 puranas and 2 panas. Lastly, the decree ends up with a few attributions, little edifying; Bhattaraka padah, the brotherhood (Pancali) of Sapela (?), the brotherhood in general one of the servants of the palace, the gansthikas, the servants in general.

There remains two charts of the year 34; one of the month of Jyaistha (Bendall, 2) is to be found in Patan; it confers on the brotherhood (pancalikas) of the village of Matin, the revenues of several lands to be destined to the upkeep of an edifice a temple undoubtedly which Amsuvarman had restored and which was built of bricks and wood. It was necessary to replace its doors, the panels and windows. Amsuvarman entrusts the execution of his order to Vindusvamin, the inspector general of the army. The other inscription of the year 34 is dated in the month of Pausa (Bhagv. 6); it was discovered in Bungamati, the small borough which is known to be the cradle of Matsyendra Nath (in Navar: Bunga) and which keens six months in the year, the image of god and a deposit in trust. The tenor of the decree is almost indecipherable. The king's delegate appears to be an official of the name of Vikramasena. A ksatriya (rajaputra) of this name is designated as royal delegate in a truncated (mutilated) chart of the year 535, posterior by seventeen years to the chart of Bungamati.

The first of the two inscriptions of the year 34 marks a new progress of Amsuvarman's authority. Shivadeva, his predecessor, would introduce according to the usage consecrated, at the foot of his donations, a prayer and a threat; 'let it be known and that henceforth nobody among those who live by my favours or any other act. And if anyone in disdain of this order,

acts or abets, the action otherwise, I shall not in any way support him. And the kings who will reign after me respectful of the law and attach to the favours granted by their royal predecessors, must observe exactly this order, (Bendall, 1). Amsuvarman in his first decree of the year 30 is content with appealing to the fidelity of his officials and kings to come; in 32, he even cancels this appeal. But in 34, he renews with insignificant variations of detail the final working of Shivadeva; the only difference worthy of mention is the substitution of the first person in plural 'We' (Vayam) to the singular 'I' (aham) which Shivadeva made use of.

The last decree of Amsuvarman dated in the year 39 (Bhagv. 7) spreads and developes this wording. This decree which is to be found in Deo Patan near the temple of Pashupati confers to the brotherhood of Adhahcala (Adahacala-pancalikebhyah) the surveillance of three lingas, the curabhogecvara dedicated to Pashupati by Bhogadevi, sister of Amsuvarman and mother of Bhogavarman on behalf of the merits of Curasena husband of Bhogadevi; the Laditamahecvara founded by Bhagyadevi, daughter of Bhogadevi and niece of Amsuvarman; the Daksinecvara founded by the ancestors of Bhogadevi. The decree addresses itself to the vrttibhujah, to those present and those to come of the paccimadhikarana, the adhykarana or the Western province; the vrttibhujah are probably the feudal proprietors who enjoy (bhuj) the revenues of the territories given as a fief identical to the carttas an also the vrttiyas of modern Nepal. Lastly, the royal delegate is the yuvaraja, the heir apparent, Udayadeva.

The last inscription of Amsuvarman's period emanates from a private individual, it is to be found at Kathmandu (Bhagv. 8). The date of it is doubtful; the sign of 40 is clear in it, but the unit which followed us indistinct. Bhagavanlal translated it conjecturally as a 5; M. Fleet is tempted to make out a 4 of it. 'By the favour of Shree-Amsuvarma, the vartta Vibhuvarman has had constructed this water pipe to the profit of his father's merits.'

Alike the inscriptions, the coins testify to the power of Amsuvarman. The first of Nepal's kings, he stamps the coins in his name. There exists several types described by Cunningham. The diametre is about 0.025 millimetres; the weight, very irregular, is of 11 grammes to 16-20. The constant emblem is a kind of winged griffon turning towards his right proper, a fore-foot raised in the attitude of walking; on the camp, the legend Shree-Amsuvarman or 'cru-Amcoh'. On the reverse, sometimes, the same lion with a moon crescent above its head; sometimes the sun radiated with the legend, 'maharajadhirajasya'. Perhaps it is useful to see here an allusion to the name of the king which contains the word 'amsu' 'ray'. In fact the legend on this coin exactly occupies around the solar disc, the place which in certain of Pashupati's coins is occopied by the prolongation of the solar rays. On another series, the reverse, shows a cow turned towards its right proper with a legend which has so far been read; Kamadehi or (Bendall) Kaman dehi. But on the one hand, the ansuvara is missing clearly

on the facsimiles published and this king of prayer; 'give the desire' is hardly justifiable either by analogies or by arguments. It seems more natural to search in it for a designation of the cow abundance currently called Kama-dugh, 'which allows itself to be milked of everything wished for'.[12]

The distribution of Amsuvarman's inscriptions at Kathmandu, Patan, Deo Patan, Bungamati, shows that this prince exercised his sovereignity on the very centre of Nepal; the chart which regulates the maintenance of the lingas erected at Pashupati by his sister and his niece and which is addressed to the vrttibhujah, of the Western department (or province) leads to believe that the power of Amsuvarman spread fairly far in the East; from the point of view, of even the valley, Pashupati is certainly situated rather in the Eastern portion of Nepal. An indication of the Vamsavali seems well to confirm this supposition; 'Amsuvarman took to Prayaga Tirtha and persuaded Prayaga-Bhairava to accompany him into Nepal'. Wright adds, wrongly that the Prayaga-tirtha is the confluent of the Ganges, Jumna and Sarasvati, Prayagatirtha being the Hindu name of modern Allahabad. In fact, Nepal possesses a tirtha of the name of Prayaga; it is situated to the E.S.E. of the great valley, near the town of Panavati in a valley apart at a distance of two leagues, south of Banepa, at three leagues, S.E. of Bhatgaon. The mount Namobuddha which the local legend designates as the scene of the Vyaghrijataka is above Panavati. According to tradition, the ancient name of this region was Pancala-deca, the country of Pancala. Amsuvarman would then have submitted to his power, this distant region and in order to connect it more closely to Nepal proper, he would have carried the local divinity into his palace; it is the Roman method renewed in the Himalaya.

Immediately after the reign of Amsuvarman, the Vamsavalis indicate an epoch of troubles; Vikramaditya of Ujjayini conquers Nepal and introduces thither his era. The Nepalese chronicles then interpret the dates of Amsuvarman by the aid of the Vikrama-Samvat; according to their system, Amsuvarman would have reigned towards the year 30 or 40 of that era or a dozen years or so before the birth of christ. Another doctrine seems to have interpreted the dates of his decrees according to the method of the Loka-Kala which omits the numbers superior to the tens and is content to enumerated the years in the interior of each century; the o of the era employed by Amsuvarman has been taken as being identical to the 0 of the XXXth century of the Kali-Yuga. Amsuvarman would have ascended the throne in 3000 K.Y. or in 101 B.C. Between two systems which admit of a difference of one century the agreement seems to be more than sufficient to the Hindu chronologists. Without speaking of all the arguments which are opposed to these whims the testimony of Hiouen-tsang is decisive; Amsuvarman belongs within a trifle, to the same epoch as the Chinese traveller that is to say to the first half of the VIIth century. Precisely at the beginning of this century the Emperor of Hindustan Horsa Vardhana Ciladitya founds an era which begins from 605/606 J.C. It has seemed natural and essential to Bhagvallal to bring back the dates of Amsuvarman to the Harsa era. Mr. Buhler believed in finding a posi-

tive proof in support of this thesis in a passage of the Harsa-carita where Bana, playing on the divine merits of his hero, expresses himself thus atraparamecvarena Aucaracailabhuve durgaya grhitah karah. 'The phrase as it admits has a double meaning; it signifies; '1st' In him the supreme Lord (Shiva) has taken the band of Durga (his spouse), daughter of the snow-Mountains, (Himalayas)'2nd', In him a suzerain lord has taken the duty of the inaccessible region of the snowy mountains'. Mr. Buhler with his Pandit ingenuity recognized in this trait an evident allusion to the conquest of Nepal by Harsa.[13] I admit that the allusion seems to me to lack transparency; an artist in ambiguity such as Bana would have known how to mark his intention by less vague traits; not a single detail evokes here in Nepal. The term 'tusara' seems tome to have been introduced here purposely to specify the witticism; tusara is identical to tukhara; the two letters 'sa' and 'kha' are constantly employed one for the other and the theorists place in principle their absolute identity in the puns. In the second meaning, the phrase then signifies that Harsa has received the duty of the mountainous and inaccessible land where liven the Tukharas, the Turks, otherwise said of Hindu Kutch. The Tukharas had founded lasting kingdoms on the North-Western frontiers of India; the religious men of Tukhara had in the VIIth century, a particular monastery in the neighbourhood of Mahabodhi in the heart of Harsa's States.[14] A concession of this nature, granted to a foreign state, did not go without a kind of royalty (fine) which the panegyrists had chance in changing into a tribute.

I have already mentioned in an analogous case in the history of India; when the king of Ceylon obtained a land from Samudra Gupta, also at Mahabodhi, to erect a monastery destined to the Singhalese monks, Ceylon, was registered among the tributaries of the Gupta Empire.[15]

Whereas Harsa Vardhana was being held in check in the North West by the barbarians whom India designated under the collective name of Hunas in the south by the Calukya Pulikesi, sovereign of Deccan founded in Hindusthan from Guzerat to Bengal an ephemeral empire which was not even destined to survive him a new nation was suddenly constituted on the lofty plateaus situated to the North of the Himalayas on the very frontier of Nepal and at the same time the secular equilibrium of Eastern Asia was shaken and broken. Inclined towards India since their migration to the southern valley learned organized, policed by India, half introduced in the Hindu world, the Nevars of the Nepalese country had undoubtedly forgotten their distant brethren who had been true to the rough alpine meadow of beyond the mountains to the wandering life of the shepherds in the frozen solitudes to the religion of the evil spirits and coarse fetiches. Two barbarians of talent sufficed to draw out in fifty years from this human cattle a formidable army which imperilled India and China and a learned clergy which was to offer a supreme asylum to Buddhist science. The Chinese who had in particular so much to suffer from these new comers have carefully noted the stages of their formation.[16]

Under the dynasty of the Soei in the period called K'aiOhoang between 581 and

600 [17] a chief named Loun-tsanso-loung-tsan (Srong tean, who dwelt to the west of Tsang-ko (portion) of the Sse-tch'-oan of the Koei-tcheon Koang-si and Hou-koang, united the scattered clans into a kingdom determined the populations in the towns and gave his subjects the name of 'T'oup'o, transformed afterwards into 'T'ou-fan by an erroneous pronunciation. In the indigenous dialect, however the name of the country is 'Bod' Yul, country of 'Bod' and it is this name that Sanscrit reproduces under the form of 'Bhota' or 'Bhotta' which is met for the first time in an inscription of Shivadeva dated Samvat 119 (Bhagv. No. 12, 1, 16). By an intermediary line, still dubious, the Europeans have altered this name into Tibet. The first king of Tibet extended his power towards the south-west as far as the country of 'po-lo-men; the country of the Brahmans or Indian. At the beginning of the dynasty of the T'ang (towards 620), he disposed of 100,000 soldiers.

The Tibetan tradition[18] gives this personage the name of Gnam-ri Srong-btsan; this prince would have conquered the country of Gru-gu which touches India and also the gNa-zhur of the West; as early as his reign, Tibet would have received from China the rudiments of medicine and astrology.But however mighty might have been the founder of theTibetan Empire, his glory was going to be eclipsed; his son and heir was to be the Clovis and the Charlemagne of Tibet. The Chinese call him Tch'i-tsoung-loungtsan; the Tibetans Srong-btsan agam-po. The Tibetan chronicles agree among themselves in fixing his birth in 618, his accession in 629 and his death in 698; but the annuals of T'ang on the faith of the official documents record his death in the year 650. The ordinary exactitude of the Chinese historians is here again confirmed by the testimony of I-tsing and by other proofs; the Tibetan dates are worthless. Srong-btsan agam-po passes for an incarnation of the Bodhisattva into India a mission of sixteen persons under the orders of Thon-mi a-nu to study thither the secrets of the writing; the mission proceeded to Kashmere, received thither the lessons of the Brahman Li-byin (Lipikara? 'the scribe') and of the Pandit Lharig-pa song-ge-agra (Devavidya-simha-nada?) and brought away into Tibet, as the most precious of booties an alphabet which very nearly reproduced the writing current in the North of India and which adapted itself however, to the most delicate notation of Tibetan sounds.

Once he became master of the writing; the barbarian thought himself the master of the world and the event seemed to justify his naive confidence; one by one he conquered the Rtsa and the Shing in the East, the Blove and the Zhang in the south the Hor in the North; his domains covered the whole of Tibet, the basin of the Kou-kou north western steps of China, Assam and Nepal. He ruled on half of Jambudvipa.[19] He determined to consolidate his power with alliances of a high rank; he solicited the hand in India of a Nepalese princess in China of an imperial princess Thon-mi a-nu surnamed Sambhota, who had already given proofs of her capacity, was requested to call on the King of Nepal who assumed the title of Devahla and the name of 'Armour-ray'.

I have already demonstrated in a proceeding work that this prince is indubitably Amsuvarman.[20] The bodhimor of Moghul descent adds that the residence of this prince

was called Erdenin Dvip, which is equivalent in Sanscrit to Ratna Dvipa and that the palace was called Ku Kum GLui.[21] Srong-btsan agam-po's envoy would bring as a present to the King of Nepal a marvellous casque adorned with precious stones, which seems to allude to the meaning of Amsuvarman's name 'the casque of light.[22] The princess whose hand he solicited in marriage was than sixteen years old;[23] her complexion was pure, the lines of her faces announced a marvellous destiny, she was perfectly virtuous and very beautiful; the perfection of her whole person left nothing to desire; her mouth exhaled the perfume of the blue lotus; she dominated by her delicateness and her grace.[24] Her name was the Lha goig (the princess) Bribtsun.[25] Even her birth was miraculous. 'When Chutuktu Niduler Rsoktschi recognised that the time had arrived when the being who breathed in the kingdom of snows in Tibet were about to convert themselves he omitted from his person four rays. The ray issued from his right eye sent to the Kingdom of Balbo (Nepal) and he filled the whole of this kingdom called Devahala and also his palace. And thereupon the spouse of the king became pregnant [26] Srong-btsan agam po was born, he also, from one of these rays; and the two others incarnation themselves in Thon-mi Sambhota and in the Chinese princess.

The Tibetan had too pressing arguments at the services of his matrimonial diplomacy to fear a refusal. Amsuvarman welcomed his request and gave him his daughter. He had not the forecious stubbornness of the Rajputs of Chitpr, so dear to Hindu legends and who preferred being buried in the ruins of their town rather than give one of the daughters of their caste to a foreign prince. In order to assuage the bitterness of this misalliance, he was able at least feign to believe in the complaisant inventions of the genealogists who connected the Tibetan dynasty either to the Licchavis or to the Cakyas of the mountains or again to the kings of Magadha and of Pancala.[27] The Licchavis of Nepal and their ally Amsuvarman, would have reluctantly protested against the grafting of a new bough on a trunk already ladden with so many suspicious branches.

Besides, if the Brahmans grumbled Buddhism exalted, the young queen opened an immense domain to law. She carried away to her new motherland three supernatural images (Svayambhu), one of Aksobhyavajra, another of Maitreya and lastly one of Tara the white woman, made in sandal wood of tocirse; and further a complete court accompanied her as far as the town of 'Bschirgalangtu of the country of Manjul (where stands the pass of Kirong): a Tibetan escort led her from there to the palace of her husband.

Two years later on the hearsay on the Tibetans but certainly in the year 641, another princess came to join her thither equally in the name of a spouse as pious, as devout, but of still nobler blood and of a more distant origin From 634 to 641, Srong-btsan agam-po at the head of his hordes who were irresistible had invaded and pillaged the Chinese territory in pushing as far as Soung tchou (Soung-pan-t'ing of the Ssetc 'can); to conclude peace, he demanded the hand of a princess of the imperial family, indignant at so exorbitant a pretension, the

Emperor T'ai-tsoung then at the height of his power refused to concede. The Tibetan weapons ended however in a triumph over the scrupules of Chinese etiquette, as they had created preventions of caste in Nepal.

The princess Wen-tch'eng, kinswoman of the emperor had to resign herself sadly to proceed by a long and arduous road towards the frozen countries wither the political caprice of a conqueror claimed her. She also brought away her images and her books of Buddhist piety. Devotees of the same gods, the two queens did nevertheless reckon on placing them at the service of their influence and respective interests, the nobles, whom the Chinese arrogance had too often wounded refused to recognize Wen-tch'eng as the first queen and the Nepalese princess preserved her rank. But Srong-btsan sgam-po nevertheless deeply felt the influence of China; as early as 641, he requested the admission of young Tibetans to the courses of the imperial school (Kouo-hio). He began wearing a silk garment asked for Chinese erudites to learn how to compose verses then for workmen capable of teaching the indigences the manufacture of wine, mills, paper, ink. The civilization of China was thus establishing herself on the boundaries of Nepal. India, on the other hand sent her doctors; Kumara came from Central India, Cilamanju from Nepal, Tabutta and Ganuta (?) from Kashmere. Viharas were erected; under the direction of Thonmi Sambhota, the translation of Buddhist Writings was undertaken. Buddhism, adopted by the king propagated itself among his subjects and the grateful Church deified the two princesses as two incarnations of Tara; united in the same veneration, identical images were assigned to them; sitting on a lotus throne with the left leg bent and the right alone resting on the ground they hold in the right hand which rests on the knee, a blue lotus. The colour of their bodies alone distinguishes them; the Nepalese princess is white; the Chinese, green.[28]

Father-in-law of Srong-btsan sgam-po whom he would not have spontaneously selected for son-in-law, Amsuvarman passed in the sphere of Tibetan influence. Nepal was only a dependence of Lhasa; she was still a vassal in the beginning of the VIIIth century, according to the positive testimony of the Chinese. One must evidently taste the paradox to believe that this very Amsuvarman had adopted the era of Harsa Ciladitya; I have in my 'Note on the Chronology of Nepal' shown the difficulties of the calender wherein clashes this thesis; the historic impossibility appears in it so striking. The era inaugurated by Amsuvarman cannot come from India because it is separated from her by politics; it must have as a starting point as I at first thought, the accession of Amsuvarman or it derives its origin in Tibet and marks by its very adoption the subjugation of Nepal to her new suzerain. If Amsuvarman had founded it, it is surprising that none of the inscriptions of this king are anterior to the year 30; on the contrary the inscription of the year 30 which I discovered at Harigaon seems to be well associated with the ceremonies of the anointing.

For reasons of astronomical nature which I have discussed elsewhere the year 34 of that era can only correspond to 629 J. C.; the year 30 then corresponds to 625 J. C. The inscriptions in the name of Shivadeva as king and of Amsuvarman

as mayor of the palace dated in the traditional era of the Licchavis descend as far down as the year 521 which corresponds according to my calculations, at 631 J. C. One must, in this case, admit the existence of an intermediary period where the two eras would have employed parallelly, the personal authority of Amsuvarman not being recognized then by everybody. Amsuvarman would have adopted the Tibetan era to court them as if he spontaneously declared himself their vassal. The victorious excusions of Lous-tsan-so-loung-tsan, who had reached Central India (P'o-lo-men), had learnt by experience in India, what power was being formed in the North and the first victories of Srong-btsan sgam-po had proved the vitality of the new empire.

It is impossible, I admit, to positively demonstrate the Tibetan origin of Amsuvarman's era and that of the Thakuris; but the fairly numerous indications seem to corroborate this opinion. The encyclopedist Ma Toan-lin, basing himself on the Chinese documents, fixes the beginning of the Tibetan empire in the period K'ai-hoang, between 581 and 601. The learned historian of the Huns, of Guignes, concludes from his side that Tibet "had been subjugated to different kings up till about the year 589 J. C".[29] Dalai Lama in his diplomatic correspondence with Lord Cornwallis successively dates with 1203 and 1206 two letters written in 1789 and 1792 J.C.[30] respectively. The point of departure of this era would then be 586 J.C. An era, the use of which is confined actually in Bengal and which bears thither the name of San, begins from 593 J.C. as its first year; no information exists on the origin of this era which is purely a traditional one. The initial epoch is with a difference of two years only identical to that of Amsuvarman; and to him who knows the complications of the Hindu calendar, the frequent confusion of year present and those spent an error of two years in a period of 2300 years seems unimportant.

Lastly, the Tibetans themeslves teach that prior to the introduction (in 1025-6 J.C.) of the system called Kalacakra and founded on the cycle of Jupiter there stands a period named Me-Kha-Gya-tsho. The word is a compound numerical symbols; me the fire, expresses 3; Kha the space, 0; gya-tsho, the lakes, 4.[31] Read according to the Indo-Tibetan method, me-kha-gya-tsho signifies 403 to 1025 J.C. would then be 622 J. C. But I have already more than once pointed out to what an extent these expressions in numerical symbols lend themselves to inversion of figures. If one re-establishes by hypothesis Kha-me-gya-tsho one will read 430 instead of 403 and the initial epoch (1025-430) will correspond to 595 J. C. It is the very date to which I was led by the astronomical calculation of the Thakuri. The year 595 can mark, either the accession of the first king of Tibet, Lountsang so loung-tsan or the birth of Srong grand son of young age. If he was born in 598, he had then in fact fifty five years (of age).

The Nepalese chronicles give to the dynasty of Amsuvarman the title of Vaicya Thakuri; the Thakuris even at the actual moment, are all the individuals who belong to the royal clan, whatever be their position indeed self-made, etc;

they owe to their birth certain exemption of charges, certain revenues and even a positive right to intervene in affairs of the state if the kingdom appears to them in peril.

Vaicya on the other hand is the name of the Rajput clan, whence Amsuvarman came out. It cannot be a question here of the designation applied by the codes to the third caste of the ideal Brahmanic society the merchant caste. Besides at the same time, the Emperor of India, Harsa is also a Vaicya, according to the exact and precise indication of Hiouen-tsang who has visited his court. General Cunningham thought he discovered the descendants of this clan in the Rajput Bais (Vaicya) who inhabit the south of the province of Oudh and who claim having reigned at one time on the territory between Delhi and Allahabad.

After Amsuvarman the history of Nepal enters into a period of confusion. The dynastic lists continue to give the names and the dates; but the epigraphy, however, much fragmentary it be, suffices to convince them of error.

I shall first relate the solid facts established by the inscriptions or by the testimony of Chinese documents.

Amsuvarman was dead towards 639-640. The first prince who appears to reign after him is Jisnu Gupta. Of this prince there exists scattering testify that Jisnu Gupta ruled over the whole valley. One only (Bh. 9) bears an exact date, it dates from the year 48, posterior by three or four years to the last one of Amsuvarman's reign, (48-643 J.-C.). The inscription of Thankot, mutiliated allows one to perceive the sign 500; the tens and the units have entirely disappeared. If my perusal is exact, Jisnu Gupta has employed parallelly or at different period, the era of Amsuvarman and the era of the Licchavis. The fact would be in agreement with the account of the Vamsavalis which mention between Amsuvarman and Narendra deva, the use of two eras in rivalry.

"King Nanda Deva, having learnt that the era of Calivahana (The Brahmanic Vamsavali says ; of Vikrama) was in usage in other countries introduces it in Nepal. But certain people through gratitude for Vikramajit (Vikramaditya) who paid off the debts or the kingdom, were not willing to renounce the era he had founded; and the two eras were maintained in usage side by side". The usage of the Licchavi era would be better explained by the fact that Jisnu Gupta seems to affect to present himself as the restorer and liegeman of the ancient dynasty. He resides at Kailas-Kuta, in the palace of Amsuvarman and it is from there that he dates his edicts but he names, first of all, at the head of his protocole a king of the Licchavi house hold residing in the old palace of Managriha. The titles which he confers on this puppet of affectation, manifest further significant variations. Dhruva deva the fictitious suzerain is in the inscriptions (Bh. 9 and 10) Bhattaraka maharaja shree Dhruvadeva; Manadeva on the inscription of Thankot, receives in it only the title of Bhattaraka shree Manadeva. The relation between the suzerain and the vassal remain abscure, by the fault of the stones which hardly offer reliable reading and by the will of the

official scribes who were careless about determining a delicate situation. It is evident that Jisnu Gupta was not the legitimate sovereign; his name formed with the participle 'Gupta' seperates him at the time both from the Licchavis and the lineage of Amsuvarman. The royal names in 'Gupta' are only met within Nepal in the mythical dynasty of the Gopalas (Jaya-Gupta, Parama-Gupta, etc) who received the throne of Nemuni. They reappear nevertheless, in the historical epoch and very close to Amsuvarman in a dynasty of usurpers mentioned by Kirkpatrick. During the reign of Bhem Deo Burmah (Bhimadeva Varma), the Aheers (Abhiras) who had been from the beginning the sovereigns of Nepal recovered their domains: 'Bishen Gupt' the conqueror, reigned 74 years, then Kishnoo Gupt 61 years; Bhoomy Gupt 40 years. Then Seo Deo Burmah (Shivadev Varma) of the posterity of Nevesit (Nevesit-Nimisa) subjugated Nepal again, expelled the Guptas reigned 41 years; he then left the throne to Unghoo Burmah (Amsuvarman). Bishen Gupta in Kirkpatrick's pictorial represents Vishnu Gupta, Kishnoo Gupta which is an impossible name dissembles under an error of copy or impression (the case is frequent) Jishno Gupta, viz, Jishnu Gupta. The name of Bishen Gupta (Vishnu Gupta) given by Kirkpatrick to the first king of this series is carried in the inscriptions of Jisnu Gupta by the heir apparent to the throne. These Abhiras kings are missing in the Vamsavalis of Wright and Bhagvanlal but they appear to have left a slight trace in the Brahmanic Vamsavalis; the successor of Vishnudeva Varman and the predecessor of Amsuvarman bears in it the name of Vicva Gupta deva. One has then.

KIRKPATRICK	BRAHMANIC VAMSAVALIS	WRIGHT AND BHAGVANLAL
Bhem Deo Burmah	Bhima deva Varman	Bhimadeva Varman
3 Aheer kings: Bishen Gupt		
Kishnoo Gupt	Vishnu deva Varman	Visnu deva Varman
Bhoomy Gupt	Vishnu Gupta deva	Vicva deva Varman
Seo deo Burmah		
Unghoo Burman	Amcuvarman	Amcuvarman

Vishnu Deva, behind Bhimadeva is idential to Bishen Gupt, Vicva Gupta Deva mingles in a unique personality the dynasty of the Guptas and Shivadeva their victor, The remembrance of an usurpations has been preserved, but the chronological order has been upset. Jisnu Gupta would be an Aheer, an Abhira; he is born of an indigenous family which pretended perhaps having given kings to the country, in fact his ancestors are of a mediocre rank his great grandfather whom he recalls in the inscription of Thankot, bears the name of Mana Gupta Gomin he dares not even award him a title of honour as ordinary as the word shree placed before his name. The name besides has really a raciness (of style); it recalls the designations of Mana Deva, Mana Griha, which have already struck us with their local character. It is possible by basing oneself on the analogy of names that it be expedient also to connect to the same family the Ravi Gupta who appears in the inscriptions of Vasanta Deva, in the VIth century as great

bailiff (maha-pratihar) and generalissimo (sarva danda mayaka)

So then Jisnu Gupt in default of formal titles, prides himself in having reached the height of power in consequences of a pure lineage (punyanvayad agatara-jyasampat, Bh. 9). This lineage according to the inscription of Thankot, is that of Soma (Somanvayabhusanah), the Lunar Race. The chronicles on the other hand classify the Licchavi dynasty in the Solar Race (Suryavamci). In imitation of the most legitimate kings he declares that "the saint Pashupati adored sovereign has him for favourite" and that "his adored father follows him with his thought". He is satisfied with the name of Jisnu Gupt, excepting at Thankot where he proudly joins the word deva. His devotion to Vishnu shown by his name, is also expressed in the symbols which adorn his stelas; the fish (Patan) or the cakra (Kathmandu) between two conches (Thankot).

Irregular successor of Amsuvarman, Jisnu Gupta does nevertheless claim to be his heir continuator. Whereas Amsuvarman had hesitated to adopt with the power, the royal title, Jisnu Gupta expressly designates it as maharajadhiraja. He reproduces his formulary and also reproduces his stamp (coin). The coins of Jisnu Gupta show on the obverse the lion marching which Amsuvarman had adopted as a stamp on the reverse they are decorated with a king of vajra. Their legend also imitated from Amsuvarman, simply gives the name of the king in the genetive case preceded by the titular shree:shree Jisnu guptasya. Their diameter is 0.025 millimetres and their weight 12gr, 37.

It seems in short, that on the death of Amsuvarman, the succession was once more troubled. The heir apparent Udaya deva, mentioned in an inscription of the year 39 disappears, either that a premature death had removed him or that a more enterprising rival had supressed him. Jisnu Gupta in control of the power ressuscitated to his benefit the political fiction which had so well succeeded to Amsuvarman. He instals on the throne as a nominal sovereign, a prince of the Licchavi family, and under covert of this, he exercises an absolute authority, separated from royalty by hardly perceptible shades which he always attempts to render more fleeting. One can well be surprised that the sovereign of Nepal. Srong-btsan sgam-po, had allowed others to despoil the heirs of Amsuvarman who were his parents, his nephews, undoubtedly; but the Tibetan armies were at that moment engaged in distant campaigns, towards the Konkounor or the Chinese frontier in an impossibility of intervening. No sooner did he have his hands free than the king of Tibet hastened to re-establish order in Nepal; Jisnu Gupta had to yield his place to Narendra deva.

The charts of Jisnu Gupta deal with various questions of administration. That of Patan dated Samvat 48 opens with a mention of Dhruva deva the Licchavi immediately followed with an eulogy in verse of Jisnu Gupta. The first quart of the stanza is missing; the remainder shows us that "Jisnu Gupta wishes for the good of subjects, has an irreproachable conduct, born of a pure race which has helped him to reach the plenitude of royalty and all the inhabitants of the towns allow themselves to be guided by his orders". A marquis

(samanta) of the name of Candra Varman informed him that a water pipe laid out for the benefit of three villages (Thambu, Gaugal, Mulavatika) by the emperor (maharajadhiraja) Amsuvarman was damaged, through want of repairs; he has had it restored and now he grants as a gift to the three villages a certain number of irrigated fields so that the revenues may be collected for the upkeep of the water-pipe. In faith of which he awards them a chart on stone (cilapattakacasana). The heir-apparent, Vishnu Gupta, is entrusted with execution of the order.

The two other charts are concerned with the village of Daksinakali, the one and the other, of analogous formulary, begin by an invocation in verse and in a complicated metre; literature in Nepal as elsewhere in India, has annexed itself the epigraphy. In the one (Thankot) dated it seems in the Licchavi era, Jisnu Gupta seems to confirm a donation made at one time by his great grand-father, Mana Gupta Gomin; the limits of the donation are traced with usual minuteness, then the village receives as an addition, a new favour; certain duties of a landed nature are reduced by half, one can see figuring in it a Malla-tax (Malla-kara) which has already appeared in an inscription of Shivadeva. The royal delegate is again Vishnu Gupta the heir apparent. The third chart (Kathmandu) regulat s again a question of irrigation, the text is very badly mutilated; there was a mention of a great marquis (mahasamanta) whose name ended in deva. The revenues collected by the irrigation are destined for the repairs of the canal for the worship of a divinity (...lecvara Svamin) and for the upkeep of a pancali for relegious and administrative functions, company and brotherhood at the same time.

The fourth inscription commemorates a private foundation; it is traced on a stone which supports a parasol above an image of Candecvara in the temple of Pashupati. It begins with a complicated stanza in honour of Chattra-candecvara, "Candecvara with the parasol", follows the fragmentary statement of a donation of lands approved "Under the triumphant reign (vaiaya-rajya) of Jisnu Gupta by the Acarya Bhatvat-pranardana Pranakancika to the profit of Chattra-candecvara and of a water-pipe of the village of Ku, with the view of paying the restorations and repairations. The administration of the revenues is entrusted to several religious communities: Mundacrankhalika Pashupati-acaryas, Soma-Khaddukas...

The heir apparent of Jisnu Gupta, Vishnu Gupta did not take the throne or he only enjoyed it for a short time, because towards 645 the legitimate dynasty had recovered the power; Narendra deva reigned over Nepalese legend and history. His memory is indissolubly linked to the religion of Matsyendra Natha, the patron of the valley which he went for in search far and wide in company with the saint Bandhudatta; he has lived in exile at the court of Tibet, he despatched embassies to the Emperor of China; he received the visit of priests, pilgrims and Chinese ambassadors. And yet, there remains nothing of him to us, no chart, no coins or any other direct document. The ancient epigraphy has only preserved one mention alone of this prince, it is inserted in that geneaology of Jaya deva (Bhag. 15) which I have already mentioned and discussed more than

once in connection with the Licchavis. After Vasanta deva the genealogy suddenly passes by an unfortunate transition to Udaya deva followed himself by Narendra deva. Bhagvanlal thought he read in the space which separates these two names in the body of the same verse, a collective recall of thirteen anonymous kings destined to guarantee the legitimate filiaton of Narendra deva. But in fact the final syllable of the word jatas 'born' has not the long vowel indicated by Bhagvanlal and which would serve to support his interpretation the 'a' is manifestly short and inconsequence excludes the thought of the plural. M. Fleet has recognized it on the very stamping (metal) of Bhagvanlal; a copy of this text, executed visibly which I owe to the good-will of maharaja Shamsher, also bears the wording 'jatas' followed by two doubtful syallables and a gap of four syllables corressponding to the words "trayodaca tatas thirteen afterwards" of Bhagvanlal. It then seems essential to construct and translate thus: "A king Udaya deva born; ..Nareddra deva". Udaya deva is designated in the last personal inscription of Amsuvarman (Samvat 39) as the heir apparent (yuvaraja). This Udaya deva was the son of Amsuvarman ? One would expect in this to recover in his name the element 'varman' which is equivalent to a family name; on the other hand one is surprised to see appear in its place the word deva which characterizes especially the Licchavi Prince chosen as heir by Amsuvarman in order to avoid every opposition to his authority. It would then be explained that Jaya deva retook, beginning from Udaya deva the thread of his genealogy. The Chinese annuals, well informed on this epoch of Nepalese history, mention that the father of Narendra deva was overthrown from the throne by his younger brother; Narendra deva fled to Tibet to escape his uncle. The usurper cannot be Jisnu Gupta himself, for reasons I have marked; it is perhaps one of those Licchavis whom Jisnu Gupta had placed on the throne to exercise the power in their name.

"Narendra deva had an exalted sentiment of honour (mana): all the kings prostrated themselves before him and the garland of their jewels appeared like dust on the stool for his feet." This is all that Jaya deva knows or recalls from his grandfather. The Brahmanic Vamsavalis, as well as the Buddhistic Vamsavali, associate Narendra deva to the introduction of the god Matsyendra Natha and both of them are in agreement regarding the date of this event, consigned in a mnemonical verse; the year 3623 of the Kali Yuga or 522 J.C. This date is inadmissible, but a correction offers itself. The annalists in order to build their chronology operated on date expressed sometimes in the Vikrama era, sometimes in the Caka era, since one and other were simultaneously in usage in Nepal. With the screen indifference of the Hindu historians, they have jumbled the two computations. The introduction of Matsyendra Nath had perhaps been carried by a first reduction to the year 579 Caka which corresponds to 657 J.C. and 3758 of the Kali Yuga. This figure of 579 transferred by substitution to the Vikrama Samvat, would give 3623 of the Kali Yuga (522 J.C.). The original date at the foot of these calculations would be the year 62 of the Thakuri era. The year 657 J.C. falls in the reign of Narendra deva.

I have already related in length (1,348) the history of Narendra deva of Bandhu-

datta of Gorakha Natha and of Matsyendra Natha such as it is given in the Buddhistic Vamsavali. The Brahmanic Vamsavali is less generous in details; it ranks in the foreground that was quite to be expected, Gorakha Natha and then leaves in the shade Bandhudatta. It places the introduction of the new god under king Narendra deva, who occupies the throne for 98 years. The Buddhistic Vamsavali carries the whole episode under the reign of Vara deva, son and successor of or Narendra deva. According to his a ccount, Narendra deva holds the royal power for seven years only, just long enough to build a few viharas, then having renounced the things of this world, he abdicates and enters a monastery. His eldest son Padma deva and his younger brother Ratna deva had preceded him thither. It is there that Vara deva comes and begs of him to save Nepal which the drought was ruining. Narendra deva in dying bequeaths his crown to his two daughters, with a copy of the Prajna-paramita and after his death his soul enters into the left foot of Matsyendra Natha.

It is under the reign of Narendra deva that a Chinese mission visited Nepal for the first time, in 643. The king rece ved with difference Li I-piao and his retinue who were proceeding to India the Emperor Harsa. In 647/648 a new embassy led by Wang Hiuen-ts'e, crosses the country; it soon returns almost annihilated; assailed by the usurper who had taken possession of the throne of Harsa. Wang Hiuen-ts'e and his assistant lost their escort, they asked for help to the allies of China. Nepal gave 7000 cavalrymen; Tibet where Srong-btsan sgam-po still reigned, supplied 1200 soldiers. With these mountain contingents, Wang Hiuen-ts'e inflicted a sanguinary defeat on the Hindus and captured the king who had outraged him. Nepal proved already as she did in 1857, her loyalism at India's expense. In 657, Wang Hiuen-ts'e once more travels through Nepal. And during the whole of the reign of Narendra deva, the Chinese pilgrims attracted undoubtedly by his reputation for piety, visit the country. I have already mentioned their names (I, 156-166) Narendra deva on his side, had in 651 sent a mission to the son of Heaven, to convey to him his homage and his gifts.

The Nepal of Narendra deva, such as she is represented by Chinese documents, is a prosperous country of an advanced civilization. Hiouen-tsang, who had not visited the country and who described it on the faith of his Hindu informers, had made himself the echo of the malignant pretensions of the plain against the mountain; "an icy climate, customs stamped with falsehood and perfidy; the inhabitants naturally hard and forecious in their nature who absolutely neglect to notice good faith and justice, lacking in all literary knowledges with an ugly body and a repulsive face". A pandit of Benares would not speak otherwise today of the Paharis (the people of the mountain). On the other hand Hiouen-tsang knows nothing of the real state of Buddhism, or on the great number of the viharas which the epigraphy however testifies to us. At the very moment when Hiouen-tsang traces from far, on hearsays so grievous a tableau of Nepal, Wang Hiuen-ts'e visits the country in person and notes his observations. Aided with his documents which the testimony of the Nepalese ambassadors at the court of China (651) has permitted to complete and control

the historians of the T'ang compile at a late date (Xth century) an official note on Nepal which in realty is connected with the epoch of Narendra deva. The description in its whole, is so correct, that it is still verified in the Nepal of to-day; houses of wood with sculptured and painted walls; liking for baths, for dramatic representations, for astrology; for the calendar; practice of bloody sacrifice. Narendra deva such as he is represented by this note, has the prestige and pomp of an oriental sovereign; the whole of his person is adorned with jewels; he sits on a throne among the flowers and the perfumes surrounded by nobles and soldiers. His devotion is marked to the image of the Buddha which he wears as a pendant. The pavilions of his palace are wrought with as much delicacy as with luxury; in the centre there rises a tower seven stories high the boldness, grandeur and wealth of which have amazed the Chinese.

The data of the inscriptions do not contradict this tableau; the great number of villages named in the charts proves the density of the population of the valley, the irrigation, largely practised, and scrupulously regulated, improves the whole of the land; kings officials private individuals vie with one another in zeal to multiply the canals and fountains. Buddhism and Brahmanism possess important temples enriched with landed properties; councils of brotherhood, laical and religious, administer their revenues. Numerous convents shelter the Buddhist clergy. Commerce is flourishing; the traders are organized in corporations governed by syndicates. The revenue is not an arbitrary levying but a tax in proportion clearly defined. Sanscrit is in the foreground; the scribes of the royal chancery handle it with ease and even know how to make use of the most complicated metres; orthography reflects in its fluctuations the accademical discussions of the court. Nepal of the year 650 maintains a comparison with the most civilized states of India. After Narendra deva the chronicles lose touch with the epigraphy. It is useless to attempt a semblance of agreement between too diverging data. The genealogy of Narendra deva at (Pashupati) places after Narendra deva, his son Shiva deva and consecrates to this king a lenghtly panegyric. "To Narendra deva was born Shivadeva; he distributed an honest silver, his riches were abundant; he triumphaned over enemy coalitions; he pleased his parents; loke Yama, he protected the creatures; he knew how to assuage from all miseries good men who have sheltered under his care; his word was credible (veracious); loved by the people he was the support of the earth. He had a princess of that noble race of the Maukharis which has for good fortune the strength of his arm his father, famous as the crown of the Varmans, humbled the crowd of enemy kings with his glory. He was called Bhoga Varman; the princess was, beside, the granddaughter of Aditya Sena, emperor of Magadha; his name was Varsa devi; king Shivadeva took respectfully for spouse, as another shree". I have already mentioned, in connection with the name of Bhoga Varman, the eminent rank occupied by the family of the Maukharis in Hindu nobility; as to the emperor Aditya Sena of Magadha, his name and his reign are known by several inscriptions of which one is dated Samvat 66, this date, expressed in the Harsa era, corresponds to 672-73 of J.C. The Chinese I-tsing who visits India from 673 to 685, mentions a pious foundation of this prince. Shivadeva, mar-

ries the grand-daughter of Aditya Sena dates one of his inscriptions in the year 119. The year 119 in Amsuvarman's era answers to 714 of J.C. The chronological data are then here in perfect harmony. The alliance of Nepalese Licchavis of with a princess of so high a nobility testify that India had recognized and admitted the high land dynasty in the group of the authentic Ksatriyas.

The inscription of 119 (at Kathmandu, Bh. 12), separated by about sixty years from the inscriptions of Jisnu Gupta, shows the Nepalese epigraphy in course of transformation. The frame-work remains unchageable; the wordings are consecrated by usage; the subject is uniform; and yet, in the whole, the tone has changed. Literature is invaded; a pretensions rhetoric tends to replace the simplicity of the ancient charts. The appeal to future kings is bombastic as also are the threats in case of infringement, and the stanzas mentioned in the name of Vyasa are lengthened like the peroration of a rhetorician. In fact Shivadeva simply informs the villagers of Vaidyka that he has conceded their village as a gift to the Acaryas of Pashupati in order to defray the cost of upkeep of the Shivadecvara he had founded. The village must however supply bearers every year for the labour of Tibet (Bhottavisti). The royal delegates is prince (rajaputra) Jaya deva.

The same final formulary with the designation of the same delegate is still read on the fragment of an inscription which I found at Timi. The numerical symbols of the date have disappeared but it is not to be doubted that this fragment also belongs to Shivdeva. Bhagvanlal also recalls two doubtful inscriptions of this king; the one (at Pashupati, Bh. 13) is very mutilated; the name of the king is illegible and in the date, the symbol of the tens is almost undecipherable. Bhagvanlal declares that one can read at will 123, 134, or 143.

The royal delegate is bhattaraka-shree-Shivadeva. It is little probable that the king had designated himself as his own delegate, and yet the title of bhattaraka seems well to be in those inscription reserved to the king. One can surmise that Shivadeva has willingly abdicated in favour of his son Jaya deva and that Jaya deva once king has entrusted his father with one of his orders. The donation recorded has precisely for beneficiary a monastery which bears the name of Shivadeva (Shivadeva-vihara-catur-dig-aryabhiksu-sanghaya); it is perhaps a monastery founded by Shivadeva and where this Nepalese Charles quint had retired after his abdication. The other inscription (at Patan, bh. 14) is dated 145; but the introductions with the name of the king are missing. The royal delegate is the heir-apparent Vijaya deva. The text which is very mutilated allows one to guess that is once again a question of water, harnessed and distributed.

The identity of the characters and of the formulary, closely bring together to these two inscriptions an inscription which I discovered at Naksal (E. of Kathmandu); the last lines and the date are illegible; the rest is in a fairly good state of preservation. Unfortunately the name of the king is obscure, I think I can read Puspa deva or Puspa deva in either case it is a Licchavi (Licchavi-Kula-Ketu). The community of Shivadeva-vihara gathers a new donation with the same clauses as in the other chart; the particular interest of

this document lies especially in the number of monasteries which it mentions in connection with the fixing of boundaries to conceded lands; the Manadeva-vihara, the Kharjurika-vihara, the...yapa vihara, the Abkaya (Kavi?) vihara, the Gupta-vihara, the Raja-vihara, the Saciva-vihara. Evidently the monasteries ended up by covering the greater portion of the valley.

The inscription of Yayadeva to Pashupati (Bh. 15) secludes for a long time the epigraphical history. I have already frequently had the occasion of mentioning the so-important genealogy which serves him as a preliminary. The inscription is dated 153 Samvat, or 748 of J.C. It is entirely in verse. Proud of his work, the poet was careful to sign it; he was called Buddha-Kirti; this is to say that he was a Buddhist. But the poem does not reveal the mind of a sectarian; Buddha-Kirti celebrates as an orthodox Brahman the god Pashupati "who has the three vedas for imperishable substance". The king Yayadeva has offered a lotus of gilded silver to his mother Vatsa devi, widow of Shivadeva and Vatsa devi in return had made homage of it to Pashupati; the poet of the court strives to the offer and the pious work. Besides he must have made it a point of honour; the king himself had entered the lists; he celebrated the master piece of metal; he had composed five verses which Buddha-Kirti has inserted in his panegyric; an express indication safeguard the (rights-copyright-of authorship) of the crowned poet.

It is just to recognize that these five stazas denote a real skill of workmanship and as a rarer quality, a fairly lucid style. Besides if Buddha-Kirti who is a Buddhist sings to or praises Pashupati king Jaya deva who is a Sivait salutes with respect Avalokitecvara Sivaism and Buddhism mingle with each other to the point of blending.

The panegyric gives on king on king Jaya deva himself a few precise informations; son of Shivadeva and of Vatsa devi the Maukhari, he had liked his father, contracted an alliance of the higher nobility; he had espoused Rajyamati, daughter of Shree Harsa deva, king of Ganda, Odra Kalinga, Kosala and other places, issued from the race of Bhagadatta- The ancestor of the race Bhagadatta 'figures with honour in the epic rhapsodies of the Maha Bharata; his descendants continued to reign over Kamarupa. An inscription found at Tejpur which ralates the vicissitudes of the kingdom of Assam seems to designate a king shree Harisa as the last prince of a dynasty which had ascened the throne after the fall of the descendants of Bhagadatta; one has thought to identify this shree Harisa with the brother-in-law of Jaya deva, in spite of the evident contradiction of the texts. Jaya deva had received or taken the title (biruda) of 'Para-cakra-kama' desirous of his enemies domain which he owed to his heroism and his victories if one has to believe the poet Buddha-Kirti. He thus inaugurates in the royal onomasticon of Nepal the usage of the word Kama which appears later in the personal name of several sovereign: Gunakama deva, Laskhmi kama deva.

After Jaya deva the epigraphy and at the same time the positive history suddenly cease. The Vamsavalis it is true really present a continuous statement, but their

dynastic tableau for that epoch hamper the 'ctiyique' more than they serve or guide it, among the princes they enumerate after Amsuvarman one really rediscovers the names of Narendra deva, Shiva deva, Jaya deva. But Narendra deva is separated from Amsuvarman by four (K) or five reigns which cover 86 years (K) or 300 years (W) or 370 years (B). Shiva deva only appears on the list of K. (Seo Deo 5), but he precedes in it Narendra deva, instead of following him. Jaya deva is only the fifth successor of Narendra deva, he ascends the throne 45 years (V) or 61 years (K.W.B.) after the close of the reign of Narendra deva. The memories associated to all these princes are of a legendary of religious order. Krtavarman (2) is only a name; Bhimarjuna (3) also Nanda deva (4) has introduced in the local usage one of the eras of India; either that of Calivahana (W. Bh) or that of Vikrama (V). Vira deva (5) who is missing in K., seems a doublet of a Vara deva (8) he ascends the throne in 3400 K.Y. (W.B.;-299 J.C, or in 3600 K.Y.;- 499 J.C.) and founds Patan. Candraketu deva (6) who is also missing in K,, reigns during an epoch of troubles; enemies attack the country from all sides and pillages the people. Overwhelmed with sorrow, the king shuts himself up with his two spouses and spends twelve years in lamentations over his adversity. A supernatural help due to the year intervention of the vajracarya Bhududatta restores the country's prosperity; the kings who had ransacked Nepal handed back their booty. Having reached an old age Candraketu hands over the crown to his son Narendra deva and dies (ascends to heaven). After Narendra deva (7) Vara deva (8) changes his residence from Madhyalakhu to Patan. The name of Cankaradeva (9) is the cause through a fatal link of Cankara acarya appearing on the scene. The terrible adversary of the heresies visits Nepal under the reign of Vara deva and to commemorate so great an event, Vara deva gives his son the name of Cankara. It is undoubtedly a connection of the same sort which credits Cankara deva with being the founder of the town of Sanju; besides his successor Vardhamana deva (10) contests this honour, it is also Cankara deva who founded so they say the village of Changu Narayan near the famous sanctuary; under Bali deva (11) the velly of Banepa is annexed to the kingdom of Nepal (Kirkpatrick, p. 167). After Jaya deva (12), K enumerates three kings who are missing in the other lists. Coudur Deo (1); Jye Deo II (13); Bul Deo III (14). The general agreement is resumed with Balarjuna (13) who, besides has no history.

The history of the neighbouring states, reflects any light on this obscure period of the Nepalese history. The Empire of the Harsa, disemnered and partitioned, seems to reconstitute itself during the VIIth century around the sovereigns of 'Canoge' but the very rare documents allow the most varied intervals. Not one, besides, places Hindusthan in contact with Nepal. Tibet on the contrary certainly intervenes in Napalese affairs; in default of indigenous informations, the notes of the Chinese Annals allows to perceive Nepal in the background of Tibet as a distant factor of palpable perturbations.

After the death of Srong-btsan sgam-po (650), his grand-son, K'i-li-pa-pou (650-697) had led an army of 200,000 men in the province of the Sse-tch'oan subdued at the other extremity of the cen-

tral plateau Khotan, Kachgar, the borderers of Issayk-koul, the T'ou-Kou-houn of the Kouokunor, invaded and pillaged Kan-sou and dragged in his alliance the western T'ou-Kiue. In the South his domains spread as far as Central India (po-lo-men). His empire covered more than 10,000 li; since the days of the Huns and t e Weis, no people (or tribe) among the nations of the West had been so powerful. The Chinese benefitted by the minority of the K'i-nou-chi-loung and by the troubles which followed the regency of K'in-ling, to reconquer the "four governments"-Koutcha, Kachgar, Khotan and the Issayk-koul (692); but Ki-nou-chi-loung took the offensive in his turn, he appeared before Liang -tcheon in 696 and in 702 and demanded the hand of an imperial princess which they dared not refuse him. But "at that moment the subdued states on the frontier south of Nepal (Ni-pa-lo) and Central India (po-lo-men) revolted at the same time; the tsan-pou proceeded in person to punish them, but he died during the war". The revolt however failed and the new Tibet, K'i-li-so-tsan knew how to maintain his sovereignity. In fact, Shiva deva's chart, dated 714 J.C., which concedes a village exempt from duties, stimulates nevertheless the obligation of supplying five bearers for the "Tibetan statue labour" (bhotta-visiti). It is on this occasion that the name given in Sanscrit to the Tibetan appears for the first time. The "Tibetan statue labour" probably consisted in carrying across the mountains, either the merchandises paid in tribute to Tibet, or the eminent Tibetan personages sent to Nepal. It is a labour of the same nature that the other inscription of Shiva deva indicates by a discreet allusion in stipulating the obligation of going in the countries beyond the frontiers (bahir desa gamana). Central India herself, if she did not pay regular tribute to Tibet, did not remain immune from depredations; during the period of K'ai-yuen (713-741) an embassade of Central India came to request from the son of Heaven an army of reinforcements to punish both the Tibetans and another enemy still more dreadful, who had just made its appearance; the Arabs (ta-chi). The emperor Hinentsong who had great pains in defending his own territory, contented himself with conceding by virtue of a decree, a title of honour to the Indian army; he named it "the army which loves virtue (hoai-te-kiun)".

The embassy sent to China by the king of Kashmere, Muktapida between 736 and 747 had no better results and yet Muktapida was injuring himself in maintaining an auxiliary army of 200,000 men; he represented that in agreement with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five roads to Tibet and won several victories over the Tibetans. "The Tibetans would have shown pallor but for their sallow complexion which concealed their trouble. When monkeys are in rage can the redness of their face be distinguished."

Towards 760 the last of the country of Ko-long finally separates the Chinese from India. The Tibetan power continues to wax. In 763, So-si-loung-lie-tsan even succeeded in capturing Teh'ang-an the capital of the Empire but he is immediately compelled to retire. The appearance of the "Hoei-ho" (Ouigours) on the frontier of the North delays for a while the rush of the indefatigable invaders and does not succeed in stopping it. In 786, the Tibetans are the masters of Chen-si as far as the Great Wall; in 790, they capture Pei-t'ing (Ouroumtsi) and An-si (Kontcha).

Kashmere who sided with India against Tibet, and which an ardous anxiety for expansion pushed since the beginning of the VIIIth century, sometimes towards the Ganges and sometimes towards Central Asia, attempts at this moment to snatch Nepal from the Tibetans. Jayapida who reigns thither is a wit friends of the poets whom he assembles in his court and takes for ministers; glorified by their flatteries, he believes himself destined for the conquest of the world and blindly throws himself often in the most reckless of adventures. The legend accessory to the poets of the court, has forgiven everything to this Richard Coeur-de-lion; it has even endowed it with another Blondel. Jayapida, who has already pushed as far as Bengal and reduced Kanyakubja on his way and who has already known captivity with Bhimasena, king of the East, suddenly invades at the head of a strong army. Aramudi, king of Nepal, rushed to bar his progress; the battle begins; the army of Jayapida is hewn into fragments, Jayapida himself falls in the hands of his rival, who imprisons him "in a gloomy tower" on the banks of the Kaligandaki. The strict orders of Aramudi assure the inviolate secrets of the prison which holds the royal captive. But poetry and the song, triumph over brutal force; a minister of Jayapida wandering in the search of his king lends an ear to the lamentations uttered by the prisoner, recognizes his voice, penetrates by a ruse inside his prison and gladly sacrifices himself to enable Jayapida to escape.

Mr. Stein considers, undoubtedly rightly, this episode as a popular tale but the gist may be true. Aramudi does not figure, it is true among the kings of Nepal, and the barbarous twist of his name, is out of tune among the Sanscrit names of authentic kings, but the very singularity of this name recommends it to one's attention; a story teller in the humour for an invention would have forged the name of the Nepalese king on the prevailing type. Thus proceeds for instance, the poet of the Brhat Katha. The strange consonance of the world Arumadi can conceal a Tibetan name. The Tibetan protectors of Nepal and keen on protecting their Southern frontiers against the renewed enterprises of Kashmere, would have perhaps taken upon themselves the defense of the vassal territory and opposed to Jayapida one of their own generals. In any case, it is impossible not to recognize in the river Kali Gandaki of the account, the name of the kala (or kali) Gandaki, the black Gandaki, the most western of the seven Gandakis; it is, in fact, the first barrier, where a Nepalese army must attempt to stop an invader come from the west and the mountains.

Nepal then remains under the yoke of Tibet. Khri lde srong btsan (816-838), also calls Ral pa can (The Chinese name him K'o li K'o tsou and I-tal), was the suzerain to the North of Mangolia; to the west of the territories which border on Persia; to the south "of the countries of India bLo Mon Li and Zahora (namely, of Nepal and Hindusthan) as far as the majestic bed of the Ganga"[32]. But a religious crisis was soon about to bring and precipate the decadence.

Whereas the political might of Tibet was developing, Buddhism had made immenes progress. Introduced by the simultaneous influence of India and China under the auspices of two gracious princesses, it had soon received powerful stimul due to the mishap

of the times. Islam was born (hegora: 622 of J.C.)an irresistible expansion had borne it triumphantly as far as the Pameer and the passes of India, in less than a century. The monks of the yellow robed order were fleeting, terror-strickem, in the face of these singular apostles, who ransacked the temples and burnt the convents. Distracted India gathered round the Brahmans who represented this ancient order or things which they too long thought immutable; it detached itself from Buddhism, suspected of indulgence and tenderness to the barbarians. The successors of Srong-btsan sgam-po saw that they could benefit by the situation; they welcomed with open arms the exiled, those who were expelled and who brought into Tibet the human sciences and supernatural knowledges and who further placed at the disposal of Tibetan ambitions their ancient beleivers apostates by fright or by impulse but entirely disposed to enter in the pale of the church on the day of his triumph. The monasteries increase, under the guidance of the learned men from India and Nepal; holy book were translated. In 824, a Tibetan embassade came to request at the court of China an image of the mountain, On-t'al (Panch cirsa) where Manjucri dwells.

A formidable reaction followed these too rapid progresses. In 838, I-t'ai died; the throne passed to his brother who bore, by the irony of fate, the name of D(h)arma (Glan Darma; in Chinese Ta-mo). The buddhistic scribes have treated Darma as the Christians have Nero; he is in eccelsiastical history, the complete monster, the abomination and the dessolution. The very Annals of the T'ang, retraced under Buddhistic influence represent him as a drunkard, amateur of voilent exercises, given over to women, cruel tyrannical. He walked up (rendered immure) the monasteries, dispersed the monks, burnt the sacred texts, heaped up impieties on horors until the day when a Jacques Clement laid him low with an arrow (842). Darma did not leave any heirs; they substituted posthumous children to him, who served as a valley to each one of the parties. Civil war broke out; the foreigner was called into assist. China who had waited for a long time profited by the opportunity to recover a portion of the lost territories (849); Chang K'ong, who had taken the title of Tsan-pou went and got killed in a battle against the Ouigours (866). The divided kingdom had two capitals, Lhasa and Chigatze; it soon had a third; it was the doom of the empire of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

This political upheaval which suddenly changes the face of internal Asia corresponds to a real revolution in the records of Nepal. Thursday the 20th October 879 (1st Kartika cudi of Vik. 936 current) is the starting point of a new era which bears the name of "Nepalese samvat". The foundation of an era is even to the Hindu eyes, who have abused of it, an important event; the prince who has a claim in that era must have killed the Cakas (Scythian invaders) by the million or at least must have paid the debts of the kingdom without exception. The Nepalese chronicles know nothing of the real fact which erected the Nepala-samvat; they mention (W.V.B.) a popular tale wherein nothing is authentic. A clever astrologer reveals to the king of Bhatgaon, Ananda Malla, a marvellous secret, under the wonderful influence of heaven, the sand collected at the confluent of the Bhadravati and of the Bishnumati

must spontaneously transmute itself into gold. The king despatches coolies to gather on the said at the appointed time the sand in bags full. Their task accomplished, the coolies return with their load to Bhatgaon. But a merchant of Kathmandu named Sakhiva,[33] meets them, he asked them to deliver him the sacks at his house; they would only need to take another load for the king on the way back. The coolies, without distrust, accepted the arrangement. They finally return to Bhatgaon; Ananda Malla who was getting impatient quickly opens the sacks; they were only filled with sand. The disappointed king hastens to the astrologers home, loads him with abuses, turns his science to derision and the astrologer seized with vexation throws into the fire his magic conjuring book. Ananda Malla having returned to his palace, discovers at the bottom of the bags a few grains of pure gold; he makes enquiries and understands the joke played at his expense. Possessor of an immense fortune, Sakhiva asks the king of Kathmandu Jaya deva Malla, the authorisation of paying off all the debts; he obtains it and inaugurates a new era. In testimony of gratefulness, he erects his own statue in stone at the gate of Pashupati where it is still shown.

The legend is undoubtedly a malice of the people of Kathmandu at the expense of those of Bhatgaon. The kings mixed up in the account date in reality from the IVth century of the Nepal-Samvat; the tale therefore leaves no residue to history. But the Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick, introduces after Balajurna deva (13), Ballunjoon Deo (15) a prince called Raghava deva, Ragheeb Deo (16) absent from the other lists and K. adds: "This prince introduced the Tambul era (corr. Sambut-Samvat) or era of Bickermajeet, in Nepal, where the computation the most employed to-day is, however, among the parbutties, the Caka era. The Newars, on the other hand, have chronology proper on the origin of which I have been instituted about none centuries ago, the year 914 of their computation beginning on the 15th Kartick or 28th of October 1793. Perhaps the beginning of this computation may be connected with the period of the first establishment of the Semroun dynasty in Nepal." The dynasty of Semroun is that of Hari simha deva who invaded Nepal in 1324; the "first establishment" at "Semroun" (Simangarh) is attributed by Kirkpatrick himself to "Nan Deo" (Nanya deva) in the year of "Bickermajeet" 901 (844 J.C.). Kirkpatrick separates formally Raghava deva and the era of Nepal.

Prinsep,[34] in "adjusting" the Nepalese chronology, substitutes the Nepala-Samvat to the samvat of Vikramaditya and carries the accession of Raghava deva to the year 880 J.C.; he thereby makes of this, the point of departure of the new era. Cunningham takes again to his account the assertain of Prinsep as an accomplished fact, and M. Bendall who wrongly accuses Kirkpatrick of having ommitted Raghava deva authorizes himself from Cunningham[35] to repressent Raghava deva as "the traditional founder of Nepal's era"[36]. He further observes that the duration of the accession of Laxmi Kama deva, gives about a total of 135 years. The first date known of the reign of Laxmi Kama deva is precisely the year 135. The combination of Cunnigham or more exactly of Prinsep has then a chance of being correct.

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTES

1. See my article: The date of Candragomin Exole francaise Extreme-Orient; 1903, specially p. 15 sq.
2. Taranath, p. 151
3. Ib p. 193
4. Ib p. 64 sq.
5. Ib p. 268 sq.
6. Geiger. 'Literature and sprache der Singhaleson' p. 4
7. Kielhorn Ind, Antiq., IV. 181
8. Hamilton: p. 107
   W. Vamsavali (Buddhistic) of Wright, B. Vamsavali of Bhagvanlal, C. Brahmanic Vamsavali (my manuscript, K. Kirkpatrick, Bd. Vamsavalis of Bendall (Journ. As Soc. Beng., 1903).
9. The parbatiya text of the Vamsavali of Bhagvanlal, such as it is mentioned in his article (p. 44, n. 35) is exactly identical to the text of my Brahmanic Vamsavali (V) on Amsuvarman.
10. Memoirs, 1,408—The mention of the Cabda-vidya-sutra of Amsuvarman in life and voyage of Hiouen Thsang, p. 50 is an addition purely arbitrary of St. Julien, the text simply designates the Cabda-vidya castra in general; castra and not: sutra, which is an oversight; Julien transcribes himself the Chinese expression 'Ching ming- lun.
11. Kirkpatrick, p. 220.—The graphy Ung-hoo Burmah of Kirkpatrick proves that his informers based themselves on a written tradition and of ancient date. The confusion of letters 'cu' and 'gu', impossible in modern Nepalese writing, is on the contrary difficult to avoid in the ancient writing. (key the exactly parallel error which I have pointed out gomin and svamin by M. Bendall).
12. M. Rapson (Indian Coins, pl. V) reads 'Kamadehi' which could be a feminine (irregular) of 'Kama-deha' a compound liable to several meaning among others: 'which is the body of the desire', 'which has in its body all the desires realized', a very slight modification would give the reading 'Kamadohi', parallel formation to Kamdugh dohi being an irregular feminine 'doha' in composition.
13. Ind. Antiq., XIX, p. 40. The passage is found in the edition of the Nirnaya-Sagar, p. 101; key, trad; Thomas. p. 76.
14. I-Tsing, 'The E minent Religious Men', p. 80
15. 'The Missions of Wang Hiuen-ts'e in the Journ. Asiat', 1900, 1. p. 406
16. Ma Toan-lin, chap 334 annals of the T'ang ch. 256 and 257. This section of the Annals has been translated and annotated excellently by M. Bushell

in the Journ. Roy, As Soc., New ser., XII, 435 sqq.-Description of Tibet; translated by Klaproth in the Asiat Journal, 1829, 2,81-158; 241-324.

17. Klaproth in the article mentioned gives by error as a date 'towards 630'.
18. Emil Schlagintweit, Die Konige von Tibet (Translation of Rgyalrabs) in Abahndl. d.k. bayer. Aka. d. wiss., 1866. Koppen, Buddhismus, II,47 sqq. Key also Alphabetum Tibetanum, p. 298 sqq.
19. 'Geschichte.... Ordus' translated by J.J.-Schmidt, Petersbourg, 1829, p. 328; 'His ministers entered in relations in the east with the Chinese and the Minak (Tangoutes), in the south with Hindusthan in the west with Balbo (Nepal) and in the North with the Hor and tge Gugi'.
20. Note on the Chronology of Nepal p. 12 'Ssanang-ssetsen gives this name by Gerelun Chujak (gerel--light)
21. J.J. Schmidt, p. 335. The word gLu regulary translates the Sanscrit Naga key sup. 1. 54.
22. Such is the translation which Hiouen-tsang gives.
23. She was born in 624 according to the Tibetan tradition, which places her marriage in 639.
24. I give here the translation of Ssanang-ssetsen according to a Chinese version of this author which the late M. Deveria had had the complaisance to communicate to me.
25. Georgi (p. 293) calls her 'Lha-ci-thrit-zuns, filiam Sama briscio regis Jangbu tibetice, Kathmandu indostanice'.
26. According to a document mentioned by Bogle and published by M. Cl. Markham (Tibet, p. 343) the Rani of the Raja Niwar of Nepal was called 'Dewalhaha-Maho-ye-ser' (perhaps Moho-ye-ses-Mahaprajna-Tara) and the princess, 'Palmosathi-Chun'.
27. Koppen, 11, 47.
28. Key, Godefroy de Blonay, Materials to serve in the study of the goddess Tara, Paris, 1895.
29. History of the Huns book III, Chronological tableaus of the Tibetan nations.
30. Kirkpatrick, Appendix No. 11, B.
31. Csoma, Journ, As. Soc. Bengal III, p. 6; reproduced in Princep, Useful Tables, 11, 162.
32. Rgyal races, translated by Emil Schlagintweit.
33. The Sanscrit form is Cankhadhara. The Nepalese almanac of 1902 (Nepala deciya Pancanga 1959 Vik.) calls the Nepalese era: Shree Cankhadhara Krta Nepala Samvat.
34. Useful Tables, ed., Ed. Thomas, London 1858, p. 269.
35. Indian Eras, p. 74.
36. Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1903, p. 5.

The Cult of Bhimasena

-Jagadish Chandra Regmi

Hinduism in Nepal incorporates numerous cults including that of Bhimasena. Newar traders particularly worship him as their patron deity who is said to help them to get riches through trade. Hence, one can see pictures or images of Bhimasena take place at every shore in the Kathmandu valley. There are also numerous shrines and well built temples within and without the Kathmandu valley where the Newars have settlements.

It is important to note here that this cult of Bhimasena is unknown in India though some say that Bhimasena is worshipped by some aboriginal tribes in parts of central India.

Antiquity of Bhimasena cult may be related apparently to hero worship because he is one of the famous heroes of the Mahabharata epic, where he is also said to be the son of vayu deity (or wind-god) and enjoying extraordinary qualities of heroism. But in Nepalese tradition he is not actually worshipped in that capacity.

In the traditional history (Genealogy) of Nepal, Bhimasena finds his first mention as a resident deity of Dolakha where the valley was in the form of a lake[1]. This mythology suggests that the Bhimasena cult has its origin from Dolakha.

We find another reference to Bhimasena in the genealogical work during Shivadeva Varma's[2] rule. The genealogy states[3] that the king Shivadeva brought Kameshwara Bhimasena from the west and established him to the west of Pashupati temple. This is to refer a shrine at Deopatan which contains two stone images of Bhimasena.

Bhimasena Temple situated at Kirtipur is important because its name is recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1587.[4]

1. The reference goes as-"The valley continuing to be a lake, some say that Bhimasena (one of the Pandavas of the Mahabharata) came from Dolakha and used to amuse himself on in it a stone, where a famous temple of his exists. The daughter of Danasur, seeing Bhimsen, ran away."-History of Nepal, Ed. D. Wright, p. 64.
2. King Shivadeva of inscriptions ? whose dates are known to be ca. A.D. 590-604 A.D.
3. History of Nepal, Ed. D. Wright, p. 83.
4. D.R. Regmi-Medieval Nepal, IV. p. 35

There are two famous temples of Bhimasena, one at Patan and another in Kathmandu. The Bhimasena Temple of Kathmandu is said to have been built in A.D. 1140.[5] An inscription of King Pratapa Malla[6] standing there is dated A.D. 1635 which is important because it addresses Bhimasena as Lord Shiva. But the inscription is inscribed with 14 Sanskrit Verses composed by Pratapa Malla himself in praise of Bhimasena, as a hero of Mahabharata war.

The Patan Temple of Bhimasena is recorded in the genealogy[7] as having antiquity as that of the Kathmandu. King Shrinivasa Malla had built a temple here in A D. 1681 which is recorded in an inscription[8].

The shrine of Bhimasena at Dolakha now presents only late inscriptions to prove its antiquity although traditional saying claims much antiquity (as we have stated elsewhere) for it. The shrine itself presents us its composite religious character as the devotees worship in the shrine three deities Shiva and Kali including Bhimasena. Inscriptions lying around the temple and dated A.D. 1520 and succeeding years address the shrine as Shiva[9]. One inscription dated A.D. 1524 mentions 'Bhima-ganeshvara'[10] and another inscription dated A.D. 1549 mentions the name as 'Bhimeshvara'[11]. A critical analysis of other inscriptions and other records found there may exhibit the gradual evolution of the composite character of the said shrine.

Tantrik texts also retain chapters on the Bhimasena cult as exampled by the famous text of Rudrayamala Tantra[12]. An intensive study of religious literature and other appropriate sources may also prove the cult's importance and other allied topics.

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5. Devamala Vamshavali, ed. Yogi Naraharinath, p. 43.
6. Abhilekh Sangraha, pt III. p. 15; In a copper plate dated A.D. 1564 (D.R. Regmi-Medieval Nepal, II p. 43; Medieval Nepal, IV. PP. 20-21) mention is made of Bhimasena Temple. This reference may prove earlier existence of this temple though the reference is not much clear.
7. Devamala Vamshavali, pp, 32-33.
8. D.R. Regmi-Medieval Nepal, pt. IV. pp. 185 ff.
9. D.V. Bajracharya-T.B. Shrestha, Dolakhako Aitihasik Ruparekha, p. 85 ff.
10. Ibid p. 88
11. Ibid p. 94
12. I have in my possession a manuscript of 'Bhimasena Sahashranama' (1000 names of Bhimasena) which is stated to have been contained in the said Tantrik text.

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'प्राचीन नेपाल'का निमित्त प्राग्-इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तर प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनु पर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिने छ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिने छ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनु पर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो ।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
रामशाहपथ
काठमाडौं, नेपाल

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